







# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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VOLUME CXX.

*January 1905.*

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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world; and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 239—JANUARY 1905.

## Art. I.—SHORT NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF FORT WILLIAM.\*

THE Settlement of the English at Calcutta under Job Charnock and the founding by them of Fort William is the subject of a native legend.

*1697 to 1750.*—The Chatanuttee Diary records that in January 1697 the English in Calcutta were busy fortifying themselves, two years later (1699) the Court of Directors wrote "Being now possessed of a strong fortification and a large tract of land, hath inclined us to declare Bengal a Presidency and we have constituted our Agent (Sir Charles Eyre) to be our President there and Governor of our fort, etc., which we call Fort William."

Maharatta ditch, near present site of Lower Circular Road, was commenced in 1742, but never finished.

*1750 to 1756.*—Plans for the refortifying of the Settlement were drawn up by Colonel Scott, the Company's Engineer, and submitted to the Court of Directors early in 1754.

The Scheme was to secure "the whole Town by building Redoubts at certain Distances, and having a Ditch entirely round the whole;" and to extensively remodel the old Fort.

Owing to the death of Colonel Scott and the apathy of the Board at Calcutta no progress was made with the work. In June 1756 the defences and equipment were in a sad state of neglect and the Fort fell after a short resistance into the hands of Surajah Dowlah.

*1757.*—On the recapture of the Settlement in January 1757 by Lord Clive and Admiral Watson a joint note was presented by Lord Clive and Captain Barker, the Company's Engineer, at one

February.

of the earliest meetings of the Board, setting forth the measures necessary to at once place the old Fort in a state of Defence. Very shortly afterwards a complete scheme for refortifying the Town was submitted by Captain Barker. This Scheme was similar to that by Colonel Scott with the important modification that in place of remodelling the old Fort, Captain Barker proposed to build a new one. The site he selected was directly east of the old Fort and only some 600 yards distant from it.

The site of the old Fort is now occupied by that block of buildings bounded on the north by Fairlie Place, on the east by Clive Street, on the South by Coylah Ghaut Street, and on the west by the Strand.

The north-east bastion corresponding with the north-east corner of the E. I. R. offices at Fairlie Place.

Captain Barker's Scheme \* was ordered to stand over pending the arrival of Captain Brohier, who had been specially ordered to Calcutta from the Coromandel Coast by the Court of Directors at home on their learning of the death of Colonel Scott, as a temporary measure, pending the arrival of Colonel Scott's successor from England. The Court of Directors

ordered that Captain Brohier was to have a seat on the Board. Captain Brohier † took his seat in July and submitted his Scheme for the Defence of the Settlement. This third scheme was in principle similar to the preceding ones : the Town was to be enclosed and a strong interior work provided as a redoubt or keep—like Captain Barker, Captain Brohier proposes to erect a new Fort. But here all similarity ceases, the site Captain Brohier selects, the reasons he puts forward in support of his selection show a great divergence in the views and ideas of the two men.

Captain Barker's policy was that of the ostrich, Captain Brohier's plan on the contrary was based on sound military principles.

The site selected was southwards of the *old Dock* ; it is difficult to locate this spot as all the old maps consulted give

\* See Appendix II.

† See Appendix III.

only the *new dock* which was to the south of the old Fort—the site originally selected by Mr. Brohier was probably somewhere near to where the Eden Gardens now are.

After presenting his Scheme Captain Brohier proceeded to Cossimbazar and in his absence the surveys ordered by him were carried out. The result of this was that a site still further to the south was selected, namely, the village of Govindpur. The new site met the military requirements equally as well as the former one ; indeed the configuration of the river banks admitting of three distinct fronts of fire is more pronounced here than elsewhere. The disadvantages were reduced, as in the new site native dwellings would be demolished in place of European.

These native dwellings were the property of the Mitter family. There were several salt marshes in the vicinity which are said to have afforded fine sport to the buffalo hunters.

In the autumn of 1757 work on the new Fort commenced ; it is said by Malleson that Lord Clive himself superintended the laying out of the Fort and its ravelins, but no corroboration in the official records can be traced.

So much then as regards the origin of the work and the selection of its site. It is now time to consider the form and general plan of the proposed Fort or Citadel as Captain Brohier termed it.

In his original Scheme Captain Brohier proposed to “form an Hexagone as a Citadel ;” however he subsequently modified his plan and the Hexagone gave place to a Polygon of seven sides.

The heading of Captain Brohier’s estimate runs as follows :—“Estimate of the Citadel of Govindpur, according to the system of Messrs. DeVanban and others, compared with the method it is erecting upon.”

The first estimate was as follows :—

For the body of the place ...	...	C. Rs.	11,71,309
For 5 ravelins, 6 counterguards, draw-bridges, and pallisadoes included	...	Rs.	7,40,260
Total	—	„	19,11,569



*1758 to 1760.*—In January 1758 Lord Clive wrote to the Select Committee as follows: “that he begs leave to represent in the strongest terms the great stake the Company have in Bengal, and how much it is exposed for want of a fortification. That it gives him concern beyond what he can express to hear from all hands that the works go on very slowly, and if the want of hands arises only from the want of a few pice more, he thinks such a saving does not merit a moment’s consideration, or that such economy can meet with the Company’s approbation at this juncture.”

The views of the Directors on the subject may be gathered from the following extracts from their letters to the Board:—

“You seem so thoroughly possessed with military ideas as to forget your employers are merchants and trade their principal object, and were we to adopt your several plans for Fortifying, half our Capital would be buried in stone walls.”

“By Mr. Brohier’s letter and estimate addressed to our Secret Committee it appears that the erection of the Citadel of Calcutta only, exclusive of the town and enclosure, will cost us 19,15,569 Current Rupees, an enormous sum indeed. We wish you had mentioned what number of men would be required to garrison it, for, however willing we may be to bear an extraordinary expense for the security of this Settlement and its acquisitions, yet a number of Soldiers are seldom to be procured, and if His Majesty had not graciously condescended to give us 1,000 men we should not have been able to have sent you any considerable assistance this season.”

In a previous letter they had informed the Board the fortifications were to be limited to such as might be defended by a reasonable number of men, and they limited that number to 1,000 Europeans at the utmost—that more extensive works would simply shut up a Garrison which from its size should be able to take the field successfully against all possible enemies, European or Native.

*1760.*—No sooner had Lord Clive departed on his journey to England than his successor as President of the Board, Mr. Holwell, at once attempted to restrict the work on the new

Garrison required for Fort—
2,000 Europeans
3,000 Natives.
<hr/>
5,000
<hr/>

Fort. He accordingly wrote to the Court of Directors using the arguments put forward by them as his own, and finally stating that he hoped the body of the place Ravelins and Glacis might be finished before the next rains set in, and the Fort be in a defensible condition, which when completed, a stop should be put to the outworks till further orders, and to this suggestion the Directors at once agree.

1760.—Shortly afterwards sundry frauds practised by persons employed on the new Fort in the shape of overcharges for materials came to light. Mr. Holwell was offered a bribe of 80,000 rupees to hush up matters; this sum was paid by Mr. Holwell into the Company's treasury. Mr. Brohier was arrested, but afterwards released on parole; he escaped from the Settlement on the night of the 29th July 1760 and was not heard of again. A Mr. Amphlett was appointed to carry on the works at a salary of 40,000 per annum.

1760 to 1762.—The work proceeded slowly and in October 1762 Mr. Amphlett resigned observing that at the rate of the last twelve months' proceedings, the Fort will be imperfect at the end of twelve years.

1762 to 1764.—Lieutenant Polier is appointed Chief Engineer, and in September 1764 is succeeded by Captain Fleming Martin, who, in November of that year, transmits his sentiments to the Court of Directors observing—

"1. That the works were too advanced to admit of any essential reformation.

That the late progress had been chiefly on the outworks to the north.

That the ramparts and parapets throughout the Fort were in a very bad state and demanded our first attention.

That he had traced the new Fort from the foundation and found that it by no means answers the repute it bears in Europe.

That the works resembled those which have sustained a siege, rather than complete fortifications.

That the revetment had burst in several parts of the body of the Fort, so that with a finger and thumb the bricks might be taken out singly.

That the ramparts had been unaccountably sloped the wrong way ; so that the rains had been encouraged to wash down the parapets and choke the drains. That the waters not finding proper course, had penetrated through rat holes and other cavities, and collecting behind the revetment, had burst through and forced their passage that way ; that of ten feet of earth added two years ago to the flanks and bastions, not a foot was then remaining.

That the original system of the works was disproportionate to any garrison which could be found in that climate.

That a force capable of manning them would be too respectable to be cooped up within walls.

That a work far inferior would always appear formidable in India.

That a retreat and security to the Company's servants and effects seemed to have been the desire of the Governor and Council, in forwarding the interior buildings.

That there were not a sixth part of bricklayers necessary for the body of the place which ought to have been attended to instead of the outworks to the north ; and which outworks were then more than half completed.

That he was at a loss to conceive for what purpose outworks could have been intended, whilst the body of the place, or capital defence, had been long going to ruin, and tumbling down so fast as neglect and natural causes could contribute thereto.

That no man who consulted his interest, or proceeded with economy would think of erecting out-offices when his house was in danger of falling down.

That outworks to a fortification in the condition of that of Fort William were like fine clothes to an infirm body ; that this was a true emblem of Fort William ; and that the consequences would be heavy beyond description or belief, unless timely remedies were applied.

That the present state of the work seemed to portend fatality and constant burthen to the Company, as it was not then half finished

That it was a matter of great concern to see a fortification so little proportioned to the resources almost of a State, and the works so unequal to their respective offices.

That for infinitely less expence than the Fausse Braye alone had cost, the body of the place would have been completed with counterforts (which had been unaccountably omitted throughout) and with proper revetments on which so much depends in a work of that nature.

That the magazines exposed several feet above the top of the parapet, as if to defy the force of artillery.

That the drains and sluices were so defective that the ditch was eight days in draining, and three spring tides in filling.

That the encroachments of the river threatened the Fort.

That it would be to the Company's advantage to appoint an able professor to conduct their works in future rather than suffer their funds to be exhausted by engineers not properly qualified or deficient in principle."

1765.—In December 1765 a committee was appointed to consider the question of the encroachments of the river, who recommend rows of piles should be driven along the banks and strengthened with breast work at a cost of 6,06,000 Arcot rupees.

1766.—And in January 1766 the Select Committee report that the ditch ramparts, bastions and ravelins already finished were sufficient to withstand the greatest force which the powers of that country were likely to assemble; that enlarging the fortifications conformably to the intended plan of out-works, would not add anything to the strength of the place unless we could maintain a garrison in proportion to their extent.

1767.—On the 9th July the letter of the Court of 21st December 1766 is received forbidding any new works to be erected, but such as were immediately necessary for the defence of the place and it was then agreed that the two principal objects were, to complete the counterscarp and the piling for preventing the encroachment of the river.

## THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

1768.—The engineer reports the following ordnance are necessary for the garrison of Fort William :—

Iron Guns	.. {	32-Pounders	...	...	40
		24 "	...	...	60
		18 "	...	...	130
		12 "	...	...	160
Brass Field pieces	...	...	...	...	20
					—
					410
					—

### *Land Mortars.*

Brass	...	{	13-inch	...	...	...	4
			10 "	...	...	...	6
			8 "	...	...	...	10
			5-8 (Royals)	...	...	...	30
			4-6 (Cohorus)	...	...	...	20
							<hr/>
							70
							<hr/>

### *Howitzers.*

Brass	...	{	8-inch	...	...	...	10
			5-8	...	...	...	6
							16

1768.—In May 1768 Colonel Smith as a Member of Council visits the new Fort and delivers in a minute ; in it he reviews the political situation emphasises the necessity for having a strong place of defence and asks for a day to be appointed for considering the present state of our fortifications.

The engineer thereupon was ordered to give in a plan and state his opinion which briefly put was—"That, a rampart, bastion, wet ditch, and covert way, were defences sufficient for that part of the world " and that outworks were unnecessary.

Colonel Smith differed entirely in his opinion and strongly recommends ravelins should be constructed before the curtains—and after further surveys and reports the Board decide that Colonel Smith's recommendations should be carried out.

This decision practically settled and determined the main details of the fortifications of Fort William.

1772.—A progress report up to 31st January 1772 shows that the ravelins and counterguards were well advanced though still far from completion—that the body of the place and the interior buildings were almost completed.

The records consulted so far end with an extract of a General letter to Bengal, dated 25th March 1772, in which the Court of Directors state they cannot sufficiently express their displeasure at the charges incurred in fortification and as they have “so little reason to rely on any assurances you have made in this respect, we hereby peremptorily direct, that you do not on any pretence whatever expend more in one year than to the amount of £100,000 on the fortifications, cantonments, buildings and works either at your presidency or subordinates; and in the expenditure of any part of this sum we strictly enjoin you to confine your view to the completion of the new Fort, and such works as are most immediately necessary to the security of our settlements.”

#### *General.*

During the building of the Fort, the great famine of 1770 occurred which caused great difficulty in obtaining food for the workmen—76,000 natives perished in the streets of Calcutta, between 15th July and 4th September—2,000 Europeans perished in Bengal. Two millions of people died in Bengal, and some natives in the neighbourhood of Patna fed on human flesh.

The new Fort cost 2 millions of money, of which 5 lakhs were for piling to keep off encroachments of the river.

The Garrison Church was built about 1785 and the engineer in submitting the design stated, the design was after Trinity Hall College Chapel.

The low building, now used by the band of the Native Regiment in the St. George's Ravelin just beyond the second gateway is said to have been used as a prison for the French Prisoners of war during the War.

Borings were made in the Fort in 1836-40 under the superintendence of Dr. Strong and James Prinsep and showed “that the ocean rolled its waves 500 feet beneath the sur-

face of the present Fort and that a forest existed there in 1682."

In 1766 the following were the names of the several Bastions, Demi Bastions, Gateways and Apartments over them and Ranges of Barracks.

Bastions	...	...	{ King's Queen's Prince of Wales' Duke of Cumberland's
Demi Bastions		...	{ Duke of York's King of Prussia's
Gateway	...	...	{ Royal Treasury St. George's Plassey Calcutta Water Gate
Ranges of Barracks		..	{ Royal North South Artillery and Armoury

The natives do not use the English names of the Gateways, their names are as follows:—

* Calcutta Gate	...	The same.
Plassey Gate	...	<i>Laldarwarza</i> —possibly because leading to the <i>Lal Diggee</i> , the tank in Dalhousie Square, and hence also <i>Lal Bazaar</i> .
Chowringhee Gate...		No change.
Treasury Gate • ...		<i>Pias darwarza</i> or Thirsty Gate—doubtless because in former years the drinking water tanks or reservoir were near this Gate.
St. George's Gate ...		<i>Coolie darwarza</i> —because it leads to the celebrated <i>Coolie Bazaar</i> .
Water Gate	...	<i>Pani darwarza</i> .

A. B. N. CHURCHILL, MAJOR, R.A.

**Appendix I.***Native Legend of Job Charnock and the founding of Fort William.*

When Chanak was Chief of the English, a flood arose and destroyed their house at Hughli. Then they cut down trees and began to build them a new house two and three storeys high. But the Moslem nobles and great ones came to the Governor and said : " These strange dogs of Englishmen are making their dwelling so high that they may spy into our homes and look upon our wives and daughters. Such a dishonour must not be permitted." So the Governor sent and forbad all the masons and carpenters to carry on the work. Wherefore Chanak made ready to fight. For the Mogals came together in great multitudes and Chanak had only a few men and one ship. But with a burning glass he caught the suns fires, and burnt the river face of the city as far as Chandanagar.

Then the Governor took two great iron chains. Each chain had many links, and each link weighed twenty-two pounds. These chains he stretched across the Hughli. But Chanak cut the chain with his sword and went on his way to the Deccan.

Having thus defeated the malice of his foes he went to the Court of King Aurazeb who was at this time fighting against the King of the Deccan. Chanak was brought into the presence of the King, and stood before him with folded arms. Then one came and whispered to the King that the provisions of the Mogal Army were all gone ; and the King's countenance fell and his thought troubled him. Now Chanak perceived, that the King was troubled, and knew that it was because he had no food left. He therefore ordered his servants to carry in secret all sorts of meat and drink to the King's Army. This act of generosity won the heart of the King and he said to Chanak : " Ask what you will and I will give it you." But Chanak said : " First bid me defeat your enemies and then I will take somewhat of you." So Chanak having obtained orders from the King, marched against the enemy and put his armies to flight. Then he came again and stood



before the King and asked that the English might be given the village of Calcutta. And the King consented and departed to Delhi, but Chanak returned and founded Fort William in Bengal.

Extract from Hedge's *Diary II*, pages 97 to 98, as quoted by Professor Wilson in the *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, pages 101 to 102.

## Appendix II.

[*Extract from Public Proceedings 1757, pages 109-III.*]

COPY OF CAPTAIN BARKER'S REPORT.

To

The Hon'ble the President and Council of Fort William.  
HONOURABLE SIR AND SIRS,

Agreeable to a request made by ye Government, I have examined your ground to ye Eastward of present Fort, and am of opinion that with a very little expense a proper spot of ground might be cleared about six hundred yards Directly East of it sufficient for a Fort and Esplanade round it of seven or eight hundred yards. By pulling down ye principal or upper roomed houses, as all your rest from ye East of Lady Russell's House to ye Bread and Cheese Bungalow are Houses of no consequence and black Peoples' Hutts, and to ye North and South Hutts with a few lower roomed Houses, so that nothing more is required than an avenue to ye River which is near already done and would be completely so was the Houses cleared away from the Court House to Mr. Cooke's House when ye old Fort is pulled down. My Reasons for pitching on this spot are as follows:—

First, it appears to be the highest and consequently your most wholesome part near ye Town without retiring at too great a distance, besides ye command it will have over ye adjacent Part.

Secondly, it may be Erected at such a convenient Distance from the River that no Ships whatever will be able to batter or even hurt ye walls, and yet be of no Detriment to your expedition of Business, as a canal may be brought from the River close to ye Fort, and have proper wharfs and keys with

cranes for ye Embarking and disembarking of Goods in Boats, and at ye sametime furnish ye Town with water by having Pipes of communication under Ground to large cisterns, for that purpose in ye Fort may also supply the Ditches with Water with proper sluices to retain or let it out at low Tides. The large Tank will contribute greatly to the accomplishing this canal since the length of it is near one-third finished to our Hands ;

Thirdly, it will by being placed in the centre of the Town retain all the advantages ye old Fort had, such as the conveniency of the Inhabitants living near the Factory for ye Expedition of Business, the protection that such a place has over a Town without Deseriting or Destroying it which would soon be the consequence was it built at any Distance from your present Town,\* the black Merchants would then return to their respective Houses in security and the superstitious Notion that these country people has always retained for an old Town wherein their Generation was bred and born would still continue so that in a little Time the Place would be as populous as ever if not more so ;

Fourthly, that by being built so near the old Fort, it will be protected from any Insults, which might otherwise happen if at a distance, and the people on the works are not so liable to be Disturbed by any alarms which would retard the works and oblige them to run away, that by being so near the Town the work People would be at Hand and consequently be on the works sooner and work later than they could do was it at any distance ;

Fifthly, that limits might be appointed by having small flaggs or posts set up at certain distances by which no persons should build within those Bounds, so that in a length of time the Esplanade might be increased to what Distance might be thought proper and the Fort would soon become the center of the Town ;

Sixthly, that this scheme will be no hinderance to the Project proposed by Colonel Scott, on the contrary rather an advantage, for as the Colonel intended securing the whole Town by building redoubts at certain distances and having a ditch intirely round the whole, it may at any time be , put in

Execution whenever the Company pleases and the intended Fort when the Town can be no longer defended will be a secure retreat and act as a citadel to the whole. Batterys may be built on any convenient points of land to retard ships in coming up the River with safe retreat to the Fort, it will not be unnecessary to have a line of Guns on each side the canal at the River-side constructed on a method proper for the fighting of ships. And

Lastly, I humbly presume it will be necessary to secure the old Fort in the best manner possible, as the defence of the new one will entirely depend on it till such times it is capable of defending itself, to do which it will be necessary to rebuild the Parapets of the four Bastions, repair the Battery on the river-side and Pallasade the new works which will contribute greatly to its security in the rains and may be easily executed, as near the quantity sufficient can be had from Chandernagar.

If this has the honour to meet with the approbation of your President and Council and they think proper to fix on that spot of Ground for a new Fort, I believe a method might be pitched upon whereby your Ground could be cleared away with Expedition during your rains and everything made ready for your beginning such a work after they were over.

But in your meantime humbly beg your Honour's authority to carry on what works are in Hand by an order from your President and Council. At present I have none, being sorry to inform you yt ye works have been greatly retarded for want of such authority, and as I have ye Honour to fill your employt, as Engineer and Captain of artillery in your settlement beg your further Indulgence of such Priviledges as were allowed those Gentlemen who supplied these places before me, and I shall always make it my study to execute any trust you may think fit to repose in me to the utmost of my abilities, and am with all possible Esteem and Respect,

Honoured Sir and Sirs,  
Your most obedient, Humble Servant,  
(Signed) ROBERT BARKER.

FORT WILLIAM; }  
The 2nd May 1757. }

## Appendix III.

[*Extract from Public Proceedings 1757, pages 213 and 214.*]

COPY OF CAPTAIN BROHIER'S REPORT.

To

The Hon'ble Roger Drake, Esq., President and Governor,  
etc., Council.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

In consequence of the Hon'ble Company's orders signified to this presidency, I have the honour to acquaint you that since my arrival here I have view'd this place and consider'd the most effectual means of securing it against any future attempts of our enemys, but as it is absolutely necessary to have an exact plan of it before I can form any Projects of the works to be Erected for that purpose, I have ordered Mr. Macdonald, one of my assistants, to take a survey of the Town with all possible Diligence that I may be able to ascertain what Houses will be necessary to be Demolished, an expense unavoidable, but which will not, I hope, be considerable as the greatest part of the Buildings which I foresee must come down are in Ruins, and consequently much below the value of their first cost. The works I propose to erect with your approbation are to form an Hexagone as a citadel to the Town from the old Dock wards, as the Bank of the River projects in this part and admits that three of the sides of this citadel flank the current of the river which I propose to strengthen with proper outworks before them to multiply the Defences of these Fronts, or as the channell is on this side, a Navel Force will be exposed to the fire of near 100 pieces cannon, which I conceive must effectually prevent any squadron from passing further up, as most of the appartments in the remains of the old Fort are Demolished they must be rebuilt in the citadel with the Military and Civil store Houses, Magazines and Bombproof Lodgements requisite in time of seige with proper wharfs and stairs to the waterside and other needful works, all which may be done whilst the Fortifications are in hand, as I propose to erect them all in Earth cased in brickwork four feet above high water mark which will not take up many Bricklayers to Execute will, I conceive, answer

all the ends a massy Revetment in Brickwork would do, tho the earthen works will be executed much cheaper and in a third part of the time the other would take up to finish. As the Town is composed of many valuable Buildings from Mr. Carvalaha's House to the Portuguese and Armenian churches, and from thence to River-side, and that when it is fortified there is a great Probability it will become the resort of many considerable and wealthy merchants, I conceive it will be absolutely necessary to enclose that space of Ground by our Fortifications, as contracting them in a smaller compass would oblige me to pull down a great number of good Buildings for an esplanade the expense of which would far exceed the cost of extending our works to enclose them; and as the Houses beyond these limits, I observe, are mostly in ruins and none of them very considerable, it would therefore be necessary (if this project meets with your approbation) that you would be pleased to forbid any repairs being made to such Houses as will be beyond the marks I may set up for the Line of the works, at least for 800 yards, which I propose shall be for an esplanade, by which means the great number of excavations and Tanks which are all round the Town full of stagnated water will be filled up and the place render'd thereby more wholesome than it is at present. I am extremely sensible that the pulling down of Houses, let them be in never so bad a repair, will be disagreeable to the owners, but as the space of Ground commonly called the Park (well laid out in streets) may be given them to rebuild on, I hope it will be the means of conciliating them to it. The river-side for the whole length of the Town must also be attended to and secured in a proper manner by executing the necessary works along its Banks to prevent an Enemy's landing should a squadron supported by an army have forced its way by the citadel and attach the Northern Parts of the place. These works being well disposed, their fire will meet the shipping as they go up and rake them after they have passed them, and by a continual succession of fire from the Batteries the whole length of the Town, I flatter myself such ships will not be in a condition to do us any damage, but rather must inevitably be Destroy'd. When the Town is enclosed, it will be necessary to lay out regular streets through it, and although

many Houses must come down to accomplish it, yet I flatter myself it will be found such an advantage for the circulation of air and wholesomeness of the place that it will be deem'd a usefull work. When the survey in hand is finished, I shall do myself the honour to lay it before you with the projects before mentioned for your approbation, and that no time may be lost between this and then we are able to work, I must Request you will be pleased to give orders that the Committee of Works may provide as soon as possible the necessary tools, utensils and materials for the execution of these works, a list of which is here annexed, and that in the meantime a survey and estimates may be made of all such Houses as are likely to come down in building our citadel, that nothing may impede our progress when once we begin.

To accomplish this great undertaking with all the Frugality and diligence which the present state of the Company's affairs and that of Europe demands, I must request you will be pleased to permit I may employ such overseers, as I shall find capable and requisite for the works in hand with the necessary checks at all the musters and in the daily Payment of workmen and materials received to the works, and that I may have a proper number of Peons under the overseers to keep the People to their duty. Reports of all which being made to me daily and enter'd in my office, I flatter myself the works will be carried on to your satisfaction, accounts of the expense of which I shall have the honour to lay monthly before you, exclusively of those the Paymaster will Deliver in to the Board. I have brought with me from Fort St. George John Dyer a , Bricklayer sent out two years ago by the Company to be employed where Colonel Scott should think his services most necessary, and make no doubt but he will be useful in directing the workmen in that branch of the service here.

The Hon'ble President having been pleased to communicate to me a paragraph of Colonel Clive's letter relating to the Nabob's Request of having Cossimbazar put in a proper posture of Defence immediately, I humbly submit it to the Board whether it would not be most eligible for me to proceed thither now and see what is necessary to be done there, whilst

the survey is doing and the necessary Measures are taken to get the materials, etc., ready to begin our works here to return in time to lay the Projects before mentioned before you, as well as those which may be necessary to be executed at Cossimbazar.

FORT WILLIAM;  
The 25th July 1757.

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}

I have, etc.,  
(Sd.) J. BROHIER.

#### Appendix IV.

[*Extract from Bengal Public letters from the Court of Directors, 1758-1761, pages 240-245.*]

COPY FROM LETTER OF 12TH MAY 1758, WRITTEN SHORTLY AFTER THE CAPTURE OF FORT WILLIAM, INSTITUTING MEASURES TO PREVENT SIMILAR RECURRENCES.

19. In order to guard as much as lies in our power against those striking calamities that have befall us in the captures of our settlements of Madras and Bengal We have appointed a succession of capable officers to the Chief Command of our Military, still as these must be governed by the civil Branch we cannot deem our settlements in that state of security as they must be if the Military power could operate without such control in times of danger. We therefore having with great attention well weighed this important subject do now lay down the following Rules to all our Presidencies and which you our Governor and Council must strictly adhere to.

20. That whensoever it shall be your misfortune to have the settlement attacked by any enemy whatever the powers of the Governor and Council are so far as respects its defence then to be suspended and the sole authority shall be vested in our President. The Major, the Engineer, the Master Attendant for the time being and the next most capable Military officer to be appointed by the said Persons and should there happen in choosing such officers to be an equality of voices in such case the Governor and Council are to appoint the Person and these are to be the Military government in this Exigency and whoever is defective in his duty must be tried by a *Court Martial General* and we lay it down to you as a standing

Rule that no Fortification be given up without a Breach made and standing one assault unless you are in want of ammunition and Provisions. This Military authority is to exist no longer than whilst the enemy is before the Place and the Settlement in danger but when it is restored to a state of safety this Military government is then to be dissolved the President and Council are to resume their own powers and our affairs are to be conducted by the same authority as now exists but should it ever be your misfortune to be reduced to extremities and the said Military Power under the necessity of compromising with the enemy we direct that such treaty or agreement be considered and digested by our Governor and Council and it must receive their approbation as Colonel Lawrence is according to our former appointment Commander-in-Chief under the Governor and Council of all our Forces in the East Indies if therefore he shall happen to be at Bengal he is to be one of the said Military government and rank next to the Governor.

21. We have already laid down some directions respecting the powder and ammunition and the surveying of our Military stores that are always good and sufficient but we now judge it necessary to place these important Trusts with a Committee who are accordingly every three months or oftener if you judge it necessary to examine and survey our magazines the Fortifications Ramparts Guns Carriages Platforms Arms Granary in short to take under their consideration and inspection even the most minute articles and constantly to remark to the Board all Defects and Deficiencies. It being our meaning and intention that our settlement should be kept in all respects in a state of Defence and provided with ammunition and provision. We will therefore have no quantities of ammunition (particular powder) or Military Stores sent from your garrison to other places without a report first made to you by this Committee assigning reasons for their approval or disapproval the whole of their Transactions are to be entered on your Consultation but for our observation let them be transmitted to us separately and we appoint the Major-Engineer and Master-Attendant for the time being to be this Committee.



## Art. II.—THE METRICAL VERSIONS OF THE PSALMS.

(a)—THE NEW VERSION. (TATE AND BRADY.)

“A NEW Version of the Psalms of David, fitted to the tunes used in Churches, by N. Brady, D.D., Chaplain in Ordinary, and N. Tate, Esq., Poet Laureate to Her Majesty, Queen Anne,” soon succeeded in supplanting in our Churches, the Old Version of Sternhold and Hopkins.

Both the authors of this version were Irishmen and graduates of Trinity College, Dublin. Nicholas Brady was Chaplain to the Bishop and Prebendary of Cork Cathedral. He afterwards became the Priest of S. Catherine Cree and Lecturer of S. Michael's, Wood Street, and later on Chaplain to King William.

Nahum Tate was also educated at the University of Dublin, and succeeded Shadwell as Poet Laureate. He assisted Dryden in some of his works, but he is best known, as Nicholas Brady is, by their joint version of the Psalms.

The first complete edition of the work appeared in 1698, the royal authority allowing its use “in all (such) Churches, Chapels, and Congregations as should think fit to receive the same.”

The then Bishop of London, Dr. Henry Compton, finding, as he says, “the work done with so much judgment and ingenuity,” recommended it to the Clergy of his Diocese, a circumstance which tended greatly to facilitate its adoption in the Churches of London. There were, however, a great many learned and unlearned of that day who preferred the Old Version.

Bishop Beveridge in 1710 wrote a “Defence of the Old Singing Psalms.” “It is a *New Version indeed*; a great part of it running in a style that is *wholly new* according to the *new Modes of writing* invented and practised only in this age. There are many such *new* phrases and romantic expressions, in this version which are taken up by our present poets and being now in fashion may serve well enough in other places; but can by no means with a divine poem, much less with one inspired with God Himself.” Tate defended his version and complained that “by prejudiced judgments the

least air of poetry in Psalm-metre should be censured as a crime. What is lively should be called light and airy; and barbarity and blotching have the venerable appellation of grave and solid." It has been aptly remarked: "A modern reader of plain sense will probably fail to recognise in the New Version of the Psalms what might be considered one hundred and fifty years ago as new phrases and romantic, or light and airy expressions; while persons better acquainted with our national poetry, will hardly deny that it exhibits in fact a fair specimen of the commonplace style of English verse in the least romantic era of our literature." \*

The general consensus of opinion, however, is that this New Version was in no real way superior to that of the Old. Some of the critics are very severe in their denunciations. "The Pictorial History of England"† says:—"Nahum Tate, the author of the worst alterations of Shakespeare, the worst version of the Psalms of David, and the worst continuation of a great poem—the second part of 'Absalom and Ahitophel,' extant.

John Phillips (1698) brought out a volume called 'Daveidos; or a specimen of some of David's Psalms in English Metre, with remarks upon the late Translations.' The Preface of his book is mostly taken up with an invective against Tate and Brady, whose version is declared to be "very ordinary and insipid not to be called poetry: the contexture nothing better than linsey-woolsey and the stuffing mere thrums."

Enoch Watts, too, in writing to his brother in 1700, soon after the publication of Dr. Isaac Watts' Hymns, says:—"Tate and Brady still keep near the same pace. I know not what sober beast they ride (one that will be content to carry double), but I am sure it is no Pegasus: there is in them a mighty deficiency of that life and soul, which is necessary to raise our fancies and kindle and fire our passions, and something or other they have to alledge against the rest of adventurers; but I have been persuaded a great while since that were David to speak English, he would choose to make use of your style."‡

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\* Hammond II, 102.

† III, 879.

‡ Milner's *Life of Watts*, p. 178.

Here is what *James Montgomery*, says of this version.—“Nearly as inanimate, though a little more refined are the Psalms of Tate and Brady, which, about a century ago, were honoured by the royal authority to be sung in those Churches which chose to receive them. But they have only partially superseded their fore-runners; many people preferring the rude simplicity of the one, to the neutral propriety of the other. There are, however, even among these, several passages of considerable worth, such as one would wish that all the rest had been. The 139th Psalm has been deservedly commended.”\*

*Bishop Alexander of Derry*, says.—“Poetical translations of the Psalter, postulate their own failure. Parallelism cannot be cramped into eights and sixes. Swift’s fierce and coarse remark, written in pencil in a copy of Gibb’s poetical version of the first eighteen Psalms is as true as it is fierce. ‘I warn the reader that this is a lie, both here and all over the book; for these are not the Psalms of David, but of Dr. Gibb.’ Of the two men whose names are given to the ‘New Version of the Psalms,’ which so long appeared in our Prayer Books, that of one, Nahum Tate, suggests a remark. That writer produced an adaptation of ‘Lear’ smoothed and expurgated for the public of his day. It is characteristic that the same hand should have unbeautified the Psalms for a shallow generation. It has never been given to any one man besides to mar the highest work of human genius and travesty the sweetest gift of divine inspiration. The exquisite delicacy and thoughtful scholarship of Keble did all that could be done. To read many Psalms with Keble’s version is to obtain a new and profound insight into the beauties of the original. But then ‘thought-metre’ does not admit of being successfully transfused into modern rhymes.”†

There is no doubt but that the Old Version was much more acceptable to the common mind than the New. “The rude numbers of Sternhold and Hopkins had passed into the language of spiritual experience in a degree only less than the authorised version of the Bible. They were a liturgy to those

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\* *The Christian Psalmist*. Introductory Essay, p. 6.

† *Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity*, p. 181.

who rejected liturgies. In the language of George Eliot, "Their yearning and their exultation gathered uttermost force from the sense of communion, in a form which had expressed them both for long generations of struggling fellow-men."

Many amusing stories are told of the affection with which the Old Version was regarded. The then Bishop of Ely, upon first using his brother Dr. Patrick's New Version in his family devotion, observed that a servant maid of a musical voice was silent for several days together. He asked her the reason, whether she were not well, or had a cold, adding that he was much delighted to hear her, because she sang sweetly, and kept the rest in tune. "I am well enough in health," answered she, "and I have no cold; but if you must need know the plain truth of the matter, as long as you sung JESUS CHRIST'S Psalms, I sung along with ye; but now you sing Psalms of your own invention, you may sing by yourselves."

A poor man was asked by his minister, why he did not join in the singing of the Psalms, as well as the repetition of his prayers, especially as he understood that he sang hymns with his family in his Sunday evening devotions. The man replied, "David speaks so plain, that we cannot mistake his meaning, but as for Mr. Tate and Brady, they have taken away my LORD and I know not where they have laid him."

And there is the well-known story told of Bishop Wilberforce. Driving into London one day with Lady Burdett Coutts, the Bishop was asked if he knew what was meant by a "Drysalter." "Oh yes," was the ready answer; "I do. Tate and Brady." \*

In spite, however, of the generally dull verbose and "elegant" style of this version there are passages here and there of redeeming excellence.

The rendering of Psalm xxxiv.—"Through all the changing scenes of life" is a case in point. (Hymn No. 200 in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*.) The other specimens of this version in that Hymn Book are "Have mercy, LORD, on me," (No. 249) "While Shepherds watched their flocks by night" (No. 62) "O GOD of Hosts, the mighty LORD" (No. 237).

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\* Bishop Wilberforce : *Life* by his son, Vol. III.

## (b)—THE FRENCH VERSION (CLEMENT MAROT.)

The Reformation is generally looked upon as the birth time of metrical Psalmody, although before that event we have instances and examples of the Scriptures in verse and hymns both in Latin and in the common tongue. Hymns to the Blessed Virgin and to the Saints were in use long before Protestantism became a reality.

The penitential and well-known "Stabat Mater dolorosa" is a case in point. Such instances, however, were only exceptions to the general rule. Martin Luther, himself both a poet and musician, desired to bring out a singing version of the Psalms, and in 1524 he writes that "he is looking out for poets to translate the whole of the Psalms into the German tongue."

It was reserved, however, for a man of a far different character to the sturdy Luther to give the start, to what for a time became the fashion, in Christian praise.

A Román Catholic, and a Court poet was the strange originator of what, afterwards came to be the chief ingredient in Protestant French worship.

In 1540 when Francis I. was king, Clement Marot, his *valet* of the bed chamber and the favourite poet of France "tired of the vanities of profane poetry, or rather privately tinctured with the principles of Lutheranism, attempted, with the assistance of his friend Theodore Beza, and by the encouragement of the Professor of Hebrew in the University of Paris, a version of David's Psalms in French rhymes." \*

Marot translated fifty-two Psalms and they are said to be "traduicty en rithme François selon la verité Hebraïque,"—the characteristics of his style were so popular and peculiar as to be called by his countrymen "style Marotique." Fourteen of these translations were first circulated in MS.

D'Israeli says that Marot's "life took more shapes and indulged in more poetical licenses than even his poetry"—whether this is true or not there is a strange mixing up in the Dedication prefixed to the Psalms of the loves of

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\* Warton.

earth, and the love of GOD. "The principles of Lutheranism" I am afraid had very little to do with the version, although Marot did become a Protestant for a time,—nor was it ever intended to be used in religious worship either public or private.

This translation became popular in the Court where it had its origin; not as it seems because it was a version of the Psalms, but as being a version in *rhyme*, and what the taste of the time deemed good poetry. Devotion, it must be believed, had little to do in the matter,—the version was fashionable.

Theodore Beza finished the version, and at first it received the sanction of the Sorbonne, and the Catholic party gladly adopted the new kind of religious amusement, but the spread of the principles of the Reformation were so rapid that any translation of the Scriptures was looked upon with suspicion, and so Marot's Psalms were condemned. He fled to Geneva and died in poverty in 1544 in Turin, having returned to the Roman Catholic Church.

Marot dedicated his Psalms to the King and to the Ladies of France. Knowing full well how great a change there was between his Psalm songs and his love ballads he was anxious to find some excuse for this his sudden conversion, and accordingly expresses himself as anxious that his fair readers should "banish that fickle and fantastic Deity Cupid from the world, and fill their apartments with the praise, not of the little god, but of the true JEHOVAH." \*

According to the French poet the golden age would be restored at the advent of his sacred verse, and his enthusiastic imagination pictures to itself what S. Jerome in his Epistle to Marcellinus actually describes as taking place in his time.

Thrice happy they, who shall behold,  
And listen in that age of gold;  
As by the plough the labourer strays,  
And carman mid the public ways,  
And tradesman in his shop shall swell  
Their voice in Psalm or Canticle  
Sing to solace toil; again  
From woods shall come a sweeter strain

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\* *Essays on English Church Music.*

Shepherd and shepherdess shall vie  
 For many a tender Psalmody :  
 And the Creator's name prolong  
 As rock and stream return their song.

He then descends from the poetical to the prosaic, and exhorts the ladies of the French Court—as if religion could be shuffled on as easily as one's garments :—

Begin then, ladies fair ; begin  
 The age renew'd that knows no sin.  
 And with heart that wants no wing,  
 Sing ! from this holy song-book sing !

Marot's Psalms soon outshone his ballads and sonnets, in fact so great was the rush that the printers could not print them fast enough—they were a success, not because religion was a reality in the Court of Francis I., as we have already seen, but because they were looked upon as secular songs. These, however, were soon put to a use which seems almost blasphemous and profane. The Royal family, and most of the nobility each chose a Psalm as a motto, and fitted it to the tune they liked best.

The Queen sang her favourite, Psalm VI,

" Ne veuille pas o Sire, Me reprendre en ton ire," " Rebuke me not in Thine indignation," to a fashionable jig.

The Dauphin, Prince Henry, whose favourite pastime was hunting, delighted in Psalm XLII,

" Ainsi qu'on oit le cerf bruire, Pourchassant le frais des eaux." " Like as the hart desireth the water-brooks."

Antony, King of Navarre, to the air of a dance of Poitou, was accustomed to sing Psalm XLIII,

" Revenge moi pren la querelle, De moi, Seigneur par ta merci." " Stand up, O Lord, to revenge my quarrel."

In spite, however, of Psalm-singing, the atmosphere of the Court was just as light and frivolous—indeed so far as any good resulting from the use of this version in the French Court, it may as well have never been written.

The time had now arrived, however, when Clement Marot's Psalms were to be put to a distinctly religious use, and become part of a system which was far removed from the one which was dominant at the French Court. Calvin, at Geneva,

was now establishing that sturdy and severe Protestantism which is associated with his name. He was anxious to provide a service in which all could join, and advised by Luther he thought of translating, or getting translated, portions of the Psalms in the vulgar tongue, and adapting them to easy and congregational airs. Clement Marot's version came as a fulfilment of this project, and it was eagerly adopted by the Geneva Protestants, and soon formed an appendix to the Catechism in use there.

A writer says "Calvin conceived it might be turned to a pious purpose." The verses were easy and prosaic enough to be intelligible to the meanest capacity. The melodies to which they were set rivalled the words in plainness and simplicity.

They who could read the one would find little difficulty in learning to sing the others. As, therefore, it was the Protestant Father's aim to open the Scriptures entirely, which had been so long shut up in a dead language, nothing would come more opportune than this version of the Psalter, which, united with Prayer in their own tongue, would enable his congregation to understand and join in the one, and become choristers of the other. \*

Guillaume de Franc set this version, to plain and simple music, and it soon became, not only a settled part of French Protestant worship, but also a badge of Calvinistic orthodoxy and faith. This adoption of Marot's Psalms by the Genevan religionists, gave at once the death blow to their use among the Romans, and Psalm-singing from henceforth found no favour at Court. The King and his courtiers must return once more to their worldly love songs, for Psalms sung after this fashion was but another name for Lutheranism and heresy.

The Psalter from which the specimen of Marot's versification of the XXIII Psalm is taken is bound up with a Bible printed in Amsterdam in 1635. The title at the head of the Psalms is "Les Pseavmes de David mis en rime françoise par Clement Marot, et Theodore de Beze." Each Psalm has, after its number, the initial of its composer as in Sternhold

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\* *Essays on English Church Music.*



and Hopkins' version—C. L., M. A.—for Marot, and Th. de Be for Beza, and all the Psalms are set to tunes. After the Psalms are two metrical canticles to tunes "Les Commandemens de Dieu," and "Le Cantique de Simeon" by Marot. There is also an appendix containing "Les Saints cantiques recueillis tant du vieil que du nouveau Testament mis en rime Française par Theodore de Beze." Among these songs are "Cantique de Moyse," "Lamentations de David sur la desfaite de Savi et de Jonathan and du peuple de Dieu" (2 Sam i. 19). "Cantique de la Bien-Heureuse Vierge Marie."

These Psalms are still used in the French Protestant Church. "Away in the mountainous Canton of Grisons, at the head-waters of the Inn, and in the highest inhabited land in Europe the Psalms of Marot's version may yet be heard to some of the melodies we know in Scotland." After being largely excluded from the French Hymn Book, they are now finding their way back, and in the edition published at the ter-centenary of the organization of the French Protestant Church, there are seventy Psalms or portions of Psalms with the original melodies included in the collection of sacred songs." \*

M. A. (Cambridge).

### Art. III.—THE TRANSFORMATION OF, BUDDHISM.

UP to the time of Asoka (250 B.C.), the lofty, though godless philosophy and ethical system preached by Gautama Buddha more than two centuries earlier had succeeded merely in captivating a moderate number of adherents in the countries now known as Bihar and Oudh.\* The infant church of the Sakya sage till then had struggled for existence in the midst of a crowd of rival sects. \*With the exception of the Jains, those rivals have long since perished, and have been followed in the course of ages by multitudes of other sects, which have arisen, waxed, waned, and died in endless variety. Not even one of these competitors ever attained more than a local Indian vogue, and to this day the great outer world, which cares nothing for the niceties of Indian thought and doctrine, is ignorant of the fact that the disciples of Makkhali, Mahadeva and other leaders with outlandish names once seemed to have as good a chance of success as those of the Buddha.

The conversion of Asoka, who ruled all India from Kabul and Kandahar to Madras, made the fortune of Buddhism, and at once raised it from its position as an obscure local sect to the rank of one of the great religions of the world, which it has since retained, and is likely to hold for countless generations to come. But the power and patronage of an emperor which were sufficient to effect the transmutation of an insignificant Indian community of begging friars into the dominant church of Asia, were not strong enough to preserve unchanged and uncorrupted the austere intellectual teaching of Gautama the Sakya.

It is, of course, true that it is impossible now to recall the personal characteristics of the preacher, or to feel certain that we possess the very words of any one of his discourses. Like all great religious teachers, Gautama became enveloped, even during his lifetime, in a mist

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\* The death of Gautama Buddha may now be dated with practical certainty in 477-6 B. C.

of legend and miracle which shrouds the actual facts and details of his life from our view. We see him as through a glass darkly, and disciples who lived two thousand years ago probably enjoyed a vision but little clearer. The earliest Buddhist books, however, which were composed within a century after the Master's death, even if they cannot be depended on for exact reports of his words, undoubtedly record a fresh and lively tradition of his teaching, as handed down by fellow-countrymen, who shared his mode of life, and were qualified fully by nature and training to sympathise with his intellectual and moral attitude, and to understand the spirit of his doctrine. The primitive Buddhism of the most ancient Dialogues was that which aroused the enthusiasm of Asoka, who strove with all his might to communicate the blessings of the Buddhist ethical teaching to his fellow-creatures, not in India only, but in distant regions of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

The seed planted by him in Ceylon germinated vigorously and produced a plant, which closely resembled the parent stock, and has preserved most of its characteristics unchanged throughout the ages. Long after Asoka's time scions of the Ceylonese plant were transplanted to Burma and Siam, and, notwithstanding the strange environment, have managed to retain much of the original character of their ancestor.

But when the doctrine of the Indian sage was carried by the zealous missionaries of Asoka and their successors from the banks of the Ganges to the snows of the Himalaya, the deserts of Central Asia, and the academies of Alexandria, it was perforce transmuted gradually into such forms as could be intelligible and acceptable to the minds of nations who had little in common with the natives of the Gangetic valley. The superstitious mountaineer, the rude nomad, and the philosopher learned in all the wisdom of Egypt and Greece each required something different from the doctrine which satisfied the seeker after truth in secluded India. Hence arose schools, sects, and schisms, the divisions between them being based largely upon diverse views concerning the person of the master.

The early Buddhists were content to cherish the memory of the founder of their church, and, as Asoka observed, to reverence all his words as "well said." But they never forgot

that he was a man of like passions with themselves, differing only because he was believed to have attained the deepest insight into the eternal verities, and to have indicated the path leading to the perfect life. Neither the master nor his followers prayed to any god, or sought forgiveness for sin. Their object, was to enter upon a kingdom of heaven within themselves which was attained in its fulness when a man could feel assured that for him the chain of existence would be finally severed at his death. This highest boon could be won only by those who adopted the monastic life, and by very few even of them, but it was the ideal held forth to all. Such an ideal, although sufficiently inspiring to the Indian mind to arouse the warmest enthusiasm, was felt to be too chilly for ordinary human nature in other countries, and gradually changed as Buddhism came into contact with foreign nations, alien civilization, and rival religions. Men and women could not be content to surrender their instinctive belief in a divine power, or to abandon their hopes of a heaven in which those who had been miserable on earth might find compensation.

The transformation of a philosophy into a theology, although probably begun in foreign countries, was effected in India also; and the general outline of the operation on Indian soil is thus described by Professor Rhys Davids:—

“A theory which placed the ideal in Self-Conquest, regarded final salvation as attainable in this world, and in this world only, add only by self-conquest—a view of life that ignored the ‘soul’ and brought the very gods themselves under the domain of law—a religious movement which aimed its keenest shafts against all those forms of belief in the supernatural and mysterious—appealing most strongly alike to the hopes and fears of the people—a philosophy that confined itself to going back, step by step, from effect to cause, and poured scorn on speculations as to the ultimate end and origin of all things—might gain by the powerful personality of its founder and the enthusiasm and zeal of his early followers, a certain measure of temporary success. But it fought against too many vested interests at once, it raised up too many enemies, it tried in ‘pouring new wine into the old bottles’ to retain too much of the old phraseology, for lasting victory—at least at that time, and in an advancing country then assimilating to itself surrounding peoples at a lower grade of culture. The end was inevitable. And it was actually brought about, not by persecution, but by the gradual weakening of the theory itself, the gradual creeping back, under new forms and new names, of the more popular beliefs.” (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 141.)

Thus it came about that the remote and long dead Indian preacher, who had ignored theology, and had required each man to work out his own salvation without hope of supernatural aid, gradually became transformed in the eyes of his foreign disciples into a God, who could hear and answer prayer, and who, working through the agency of a host of ministering spirits, could save men from their sins.

The change must have begun very soon after the missionaries of Asoka penetrated countries in which purely Indian notions were to a large extent unintelligible, and the new religion must have been constrained speedily to adapt itself to current forms of thought. But no record of the details of the process has been kept, and its working can be inferred only from the result, and from the known facts which prove the interactions of various creeds and systems of philosophy.

There is some reason to suppose that Buddhist ideas may have influenced Christianity even in its earliest form and there is much warrant for believing that the leaven of Christian teaching affected the later Buddhism. The Gnostic variety of Christianity, or heresy, according to the orthodox, had specially close relations with Buddhism; and in the great cities of Asia Minor and Egypt where Christians, Jews, Greeks, Zoroastrians, and Buddhists all met and freely intermingled, each system influenced more or less, all the others, and was influenced by them.

The adherents of the newer and more attractive Buddhism, having no doubt as to the superiority of the developed doctrine, designated it as the Great Vehicle of salvation, and, with a tinge of contempt, referred to the old-fashioned system as the Lesser Vehicle. But both systems continued to subsist side by side for centuries, and both alike claimed to be based upon the words of the Buddha. Although the adherents of the rival schools showed great animosity to each other at times, they managed to live together peaceably as a rule, and the followers of both the Great and Little Vehicle were much intermixed throughout the Buddhist world. The details of the sectarian distribution in the seventh century A. D. are given by I-tsing, one of the most famous of the devout Chinese pilgrims who made the toilsome journey to India as to the

Holy Land of their faith. I-tsing carried his toleration to the verge of latitudinarianism, and avowed his conviction that "These two systems are perfectly in accordance with the Noble Doctrine. Can we then say which of the two is right? Both equally conform to truth and lead us to Nirvāṇa. Nor can we find out which is true or false. Both aim at the destruction of passion and the salvation of all beings. We must not, in trying to settle the comparative merits of these two, create great confusion and fall further into perplexity."

This conveniently elastic view is equivalent to a declaration by a European Christian that the doctrines of Papal infallibility and of free private judgment are both perfectly in accordance with the mind of Christ, and that no man can find out the truth or falsity of the decrees of the Council of Trent on the one hand, or of the Westminster Confession on the other. But everybody was not so easy-going as the good natured Chinaman, and sectarian differences were capable of heating the blood in India as elsewhere. A notable proof of this fact is afforded by the story of King Harsha, the contemporary and host of Hinen Tsang, the prince of Chinese pilgrims, and the most famous exponent of the Great Vehicle. The king listened with admiration and conviction to the sermons of his distinguished visitor, but felt bound, in accordance with the custom of the time, to give an opportunity for controversial discussion. This is the way that he arranged the business. He issued a proclamation, inviting disputants to debate, but at the same time intimated that if any one should touch or hurt the Master of the Law, as Hinen Tsang was commonly called, he should be forthwith beheaded, whilst if any one spoke against him, the offender's tongue should be cut out. On these terms nobody cared to enter the lists, and "from this time the followers of error withdrew and disappeared, so that when eighteen days had passed, there had been no one to enter on the discussion."

Ultimately the followers of both the Great and Little Vehicle doctrines in India gradually abandoned their faith, and by the end of the twelfth century hardly a Buddhist was left in India proper, except a few in the extreme south. A corrupt form of the Great Vehicle teaching retained its hold upon Tibet and developed into the strange, and in some

respects grotesque, system known as Lamaism, while another corrupt, but weaker, variety of the same doctrine still lingers in Nepal.

Although the transformation of Buddhism from a philosophical system of ethics into a theological religion must have begun, as above observed, soon after the diffusion of the faith by Asoka's missionaries, the actual evidence of the change cannot be traced beyond the Christian era. The most distinct testimony to the approximate date of the development of the Great Vehicle teaching is afforded by the history of Indian art. The celebrated relief sculptures at Sanchi and Bharhut, which belong to a period extending from a little before to a little after 200 B. C. exhibit no images of Buddha. He was reported to have declared that on the dissolution of his body, after the end of his life, neither gods nor men should behold him, because his personality would disappear by the severance of the chain of re-birth. His disciples believed his saying and felt no desire to perpetuate the memory of the features of his transient body, being content with the precious possession of his undying word. Accordingly, when they sought to indicate his presence in a sculptured scene they effected their purpose by a symbol, such as an empty chair, or a pair of footprints. But the art of the second century A. D., when theological Buddhism was well established, is very different, and its central motive is the representation of the figure of the teacher.

The contact of Indian ideas with the idolatrous religions and highly skilled plastic art of Asia, Greece, and Rome had the same effect on Buddhism which it had on Christianity, and induced the development of a complicated mythology. Gautama, the dead Buddha, was replaced by an imaginary being, Maitreya, the future Buddha, or by Amitāyus, each of whom was regarded in practice as a god whose favour might be won by prayer, and was believed to be attended by a crowd of Bodhisattvas, corresponding to the Christian hierarchy of saints and angels.

The interesting relief sculptures from Gandhara the country about Peshawar, commonly called the works of the Græco-Buddhist school, prove that the transformation of the primitive godless Buddhism, with its purely Indian ideal of

escape from the miseries of existence and re-birth, into a practically theistic religion, with an ideal of salvation from sin and its consequences in a future life, had been largely accomplished before the middle of the second century A. D., when Kanishka was at the height of his power in India and Antoninus Pius ruled the Roman world.\*

This is the period of the finest Gandhara sculptures, which show in many respects the characteristics of the cosmopolitan Græco-Roman art of the time, and give plastic expression to the interchange of ideas which developed, in one direction into the hagiology of popular Christianity, and on the other into the Buddhist pantheon of the Mahayana, and ultimately into Lamaism.

The art of Gandhara, evolved by a local school in touch, on the one side, with the multiform conceptions of Hinduism, and, on the other, with Zoroastrianism, Græco-Roman paganism, and nascent Christianity, naturally exhibits puzzling peculiarities, and suggests relations with and borrowings from all the systems with which it was in contact.

When we consider together the rich and varied coin issues of the Kanishka Dynasty of Gandhara and the multitudinous specimens of the sculptor's art which flourished under the patronage of the kings of that Dynasty we find the strangest commingling of Indian, Persian, Græco-Roman, and Christian ideas. The images of Buddha are often merely replicas of Græco-Roman statues of Apollo; the pose of the Phidian Zeus is reproduced in the effigies of Indra or Kuvera; sovereigns known to history as zealous Buddhists are depicted in the act of offering incense on a Zoroastrian fire-altar; the presentation of bowls to Buddha by the "four kings" is clearly a variant of the story of the adoration of the Magi; and many other illustrations of the curious mixture of ideas in these peculiar sculptures might be cited.

The *colluvies gentium* of Rome evidently was reproduced on a smaller scale in Kanishka's Capital, Peshawar, and the resultant art is as mixed in its motives and forms as was the society which gave it birth. We find grotesque Persepolitan

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\* Scholars are not agreed as to the date of Kanishka, but the date in the text is supported on good grounds.



capitals with monstrous lions and bulls combined with florid Corinthian capitals as architectural decorations in a single elevation, and the artist who perpetrated the jumble was evidently unconscious of any incongruity in his work. The miniature stone-pictures of the reliefs were doubtless copied from then existing buildings, and are sufficient to prove that the domestic and temple architecture of the Peshawar Valley in the second and third centuries of the Christian era must have presented a strange spectacle of the fearless combination of incongruous styles.

We have seen how the history of Indian art carries back the date of the transformation of Buddhism with certainty to the second century of the Christian era, and inferentially to a considerably earlier period. The literary monuments of the newer Buddhism support this conclusion. The *Suktrāvatī Vyūha*, a work devoted to the description of the Land of Bliss, or Paradise, which is now a great favourite in Japan, and is said to have been translated into Chinese as early as the middle of the second century A. D., expounds a highly developed system of theology and mythology, the evolution of which must have taken a long time. The epithet Tathāgata, "he who has attained," commonly given by the earlier Buddhists to the historical man, Gautama, the Sakya sage, is now transferred to a heavenly being called Amitābha or Amitāyus, who is described as endowed with the attributes of the Eternal God, and as inhabiting the "Buddha country" or "Land of Bliss," where he is surrounded by innumerable attendant Bodhisattvas and worshipped by multitudes of Srāvakas or disciples.

The detailed description of the "Buddha country" recalls the visions of the New Jerusalem in the apocalypse, and in some passages the language of the Buddhist writer is almost verbally identical with that of the seer of Patmos.

The Land of Bliss, we are told, is filled with sweet smelling flowers, and adorned with gold and silver trees, bearing fruits of beryl, crystal, pearl, and diamonds.

"There is nowhere, in that world any sound of sin, obstacle, misfortune, distress, or destruction, nor is there any sound of pain ... and in that country no mention is ever made of the names of fire, sun, moon, or

planets, constellations, and stars, or of blinding darkness. There is no mention of day or night, except in the conversation of the Tathāgata."

The Christian reader will hardly need to be reminded of the parallel passages in the Revelation of St. John the Divine :—

"And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes ; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain ... and the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it ... there shall be no night there." (*Rev. xxi. 4, 23, 25.*)

Whether the explanation may be of the close relation between the Christian and the Buddhist Apocalypses, there can be no doubt of the fact. Both works deal with the one class of ideas, and are essentially of the same kind.

The early Buddhists, as everybody knows, made the succession of re-births dependent upon the quality of the *Karma* the nett good or evil result of each life. The smaller edition of the *Sukhāvati Vyūha*, which is certainly anterior to 400 A. D., repudiates the ancient Indian doctrine of the accumulation of merit, and preaches a theory of salvation as being dependent on faith and fervent prayer, in the following remarkable words :—

"All beings ought to make fervent prayer for that Buddha country ... Beings are not born in that Buddha country of the Tathāgata, Amitāyus as a reward and result of good works performed in this present life. No, whatever son or daughter of a family shall bear the name of the Blessed Amitāyus, the Tathāgata, and having heard it, shall keep it in mind for one, two, three, four, five, six, or seven nights—when that son or daughter comes to die, then that Amitāyus, the Tathāgata, surrounded by an assembly of disciples, and followed by a host of Bodhisattvas will stand before them at their hour of death, and they will depart this life with tranquil minds. After their death they will be born in the world *Sukhāvati*, in the Buddha country of the same Amitāyus, the Tathāgata." \*

This doctrine is separated by a wide gulf from the teaching of primitive and Ceylonese Buddhism, and might be put, with the necessary change of names, into the mouth of a Christian preacher.

Buddhism, it is clear, comprehends two distinct religions, one atheistic, or at least non-theistic, and the other theistic and mythological. The current phrase which distinguishes

\* *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. xlix, *Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts*.

Northern from Southern Buddhism, although objectionable from some points of view, is legitimate as stating in summary fashion a fact two thousand years old. The southern form of the religion, as best represented in Ceylon, which keeps close to the primitive teaching of Gautama, this sage of the Sakya clan, is a very different thing from the varieties of Buddhism current in Nepal and Tibet, and thence carried to Mongolia, China, and Japan; all of which may be grouped together conveniently under the title Northern, as being derivatives of the system of the Great Vehicle, which entered India from the north-west, and probably originated in foreign countries.

The self-sacrificing labours of Professor Rhys Davids and his coadjutors of the Pali Text Society within the last few years have placed the world in possession of the most authentic documents of primitive Buddhism; and Lieutenant-Colonel Waddell has explained the mysteries of Lamaism; but there is room for a book designed to bring out clearly the radical transformation in the religion, which has been briefly sketched in this article, and to make intelligible the points of resemblance and difference in the various forms of Buddhism current in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Mongolia, China, Japan, Tibet, and Nepal. Readers of Professor Rhys Davids' excellent works may not always remember that his descriptions of Buddhism are based wholly on the earliest records, and apply at the present day to Ceylon only.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

#### Art. IV.—ARCHÆOLOGY IN INDIA.

**Y**EARS back Fergusson, one of the greatest authorities on architecture, wrote a pamphlet which he called *Archæology in India*. It was written to combat some theories adumbrated or advanced by an antiquarian and scholar who, for years, upheld the honour of Bengal in the field of antiquarian research. Many would consider the brilliant pamphlet a blot on the career of that eminent authority on architecture. But if here and there Fergusson transgressed the bounds of decency by attacking "the Babu" and importing into a discussion of opinion between scholars the violent feeling that disgraced almost all controversies between Europeans and Indians at the time of the Ilbert Bill controversy, to which he repeatedly referred, he had a foe man worthy of his steel. Rājendra Lāla the representative of "the Babu" was able to take care of himself and a host of others too. And aptly did the editor of the *Academy* say (April 1882, No. 518)—"Into the controversy with Mr. Fergusson about the origin of Indian Architecture we do not propose to enter. There is hardly a third man living who would care to mediate between the two."

What a prominent part did Rājendra Lāla play in the archæological literature of the period! His name crops up here—there—everywhere. He travelled over a wide tract, and had to encounter a host of adversaries. Many were the attacks hurled at him by his European contemporaries. He fought single-handed, and often successfully.

If some of the theories he advanced have been proved to be wrong there is nothing in it for him to feel ashamed. Later researches and discoveries must upset many theories in a subject like archæology—in which the missing link has often to be conjectured. If multiplied materials upset some theories what is there to dim the lustre of the originality that marks the products of a mastermind—to efface the stamp of genius. And it should not be made an excuse for the attempts of each wayside wayfarer to filch from the victor's brow his laurel

crown. "A heroic failure," as Dowden puts it "may be worth as much to the world as a distinguished success."

If some of his theories have been controverted have not also many of the theories of his contemporaries and adversaries which he strove to undermine—fallen to the ground? Did he not—during his own time—shake the over confidence of some of his pedantic contemporaries who claimed a monopoly of knowledge?

Most of the scholars who took part in those controversies have now passed away, and looking across the dead level of the world which has taken them to their rest, or "in which they still await the great effacement" we see beyond and above all a few mountain tops lying in lustrous after-glow, "the light that comes when the sun has set," to carry the memory of active lives far into the night of Time. But the work still remains—and much of it still to be done. And who is there to-day—who among the many educated Indians—to take up the work of Râjendra Lâla, the indefatigable worker whose patriotism was the one sentiment which tinged the colourless light in which his understanding moved? It is a pathetic sight, a handful of intellectual giants toiling in the midst of the dead desert of the apathy and indolence of their own countrymen.

We deplore the fact that ancient Indians left no history. But what attempt have we made to construct that history out of the ample materials they have left behind them? "From far less evidence, than is available in India, men have reconstructed the histories of Egypt and Greece and Rome. From the scantiest materials, by the simple method of comparative study there have been built up marvellous and succinct accounts of the rise and fall of the great Hittite Empire, the very existence of which was hardly suspected a few years ago."

What ancient nation left behind it a comprehensive history for the future student? Ancient nations have left behind them materials in art and literature. Such materials are far from wanting in India. When a long-settled civilisation dies, it does not vanish like a mere shivering of the air; but leaves its traces behind in works of art and works of literature and even

in tools and objects of domestic utility. And the civilisation of ancient India cannot be said to be dead in the sense in which we speak of the dead civilisation of Egypt or Greece or Rome.

In India "where'er we tread, 'tis haunted, holy ground ;" and at every step History cries to the careful student "Stop, thy tread is on an empire's dust."

In India, temples and topes are not less numerous than the many manuscripts that have been discovered, and the many more that, undiscovered, are mouldering into dust. And the former are, perhaps, more eloquent than the latter. For the work of interpolation which has lessened the historic value of so many works of literature is more easily detected in works of art than in works of literature. And these monuments, as General Sir Alexander Cunningham puts it, "in the almost total absence of any written history, form the only reliable sources of information as to the early condition of the country." And we must admit that there appears to have been a "special literary providence" presiding over those nations, which urged them to consign to the safekeeping of the everlasting hills, and to the brick and clay materials of their buildings, those records of their history which other nations have consigned rashly to more perishable materials. The great inscriptions on rocks in all parts of India throw a light on the history of the country that has never been extinguished. "The sandstone caves of Orissa," wrote Dr. Hunter, "form materials of history as imperishable as the solid mountains themselves." \* And what is true of the rock-cut temples of Orissa is true of temples and topes, rock-cut temples, and inscriptions all over India. The history of ancient India written in and on stone has withstood the corrosive wear and tear of time and must be carefully studied by all students of history.

"Nowhere are the styles of architecture so various as in India, and nowhere are the changes so rapid, or follow laws of so fixed a nature. It is consequently easy to separate the various styles into well-defined groups, with easily recognised peculiarities, and to trace sequences of development in themselves quite certain, which, when a date can be affixed

\* Orissa.

to one of the series, render the entire chronology certain and intelligible." \*

"Before I left India," wrote Fergusson in one of his attacks upon Rājendra Lāla, "the styles were all perfectly well defined in my mind, the sequences determined and the dates at least approximately fixed. Since then, by collecting photographs and following up the information that has since been obtained from inscriptions and other sources, I now feel sufficient confidence to boast that if anyone would produce me a set of photographs of any ancient building in India, I would tell him within fifty miles of where it was situated, and within fifty years of when it was built. He would be a bolder and more confident man than I am who could feel sure that this may not be proved to be wrong hereafter, but up to the present time I see no practical difficulty about it,—within certain limits of course." So carefully had he studied Indian architecture. And experts like Fergusson and Cunningham have done much for archæology in India. But the student is yet to come who will arrange and utilise the results of their labours to write a connected history of Indian art—of Indian civilisation.

In art India had a great and glorious past. And though loss of liberty, introduction of foreign ideas and ideals, and want of peace and prosperity have combined to continue their work of destruction for centuries, yet the art instinct still lingers in her people. And in India art is still more a part of national life than it is elsewhere. In India art is not a luxury but the "common property of the poorest and the richest."

In art, as in religion, India once led the whole East and influenced and stimulated the development of architecture, sculpture, and painting in China, Korea, and Japan. In the wake of Buddhism Indian influence reached Japan through China and Korea. And this went on till Indian cult and Indian culture flowed forth to the Far East to leave their traces on the manners, the customs, the literatures, and the institutions which have endured to our own day.

At first antiquarian research in India was neglected by Indians and Europeans alike. People forgot that India had a brilliant past, a rich literature, highly developed arts, and a

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\* Fergusson—*Archæology in India*.

civilisation hoary with age. \* A new era dawned with the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. In the terms of the original resolution, the object of the Society was "enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia." Dilating on this definition Sir William Jones remarked, "you will investigate whatever is rare in the stupendous fabric of nature; will correct the geography of Asia by new observations and discoveries; will trace the annals and even traditions of those nations who, from time to time, have peopled or desolated it; and will bring to light their various forms of government, with their institutions, civil and religious; you will examine their improvements and methods in arithmetic and geometry—in trigonometry, mensuration, mechanics, optics, astronomy, and general physics; their systems of morality, grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic; their skill in chirurgery and, medicine; and their advancement, whatever it may be, in anatomy and chemistry. To this you will add researches into their agriculture, manufacture, and trade; and whilst you enquire into their music, architecture, painting, and poetry, will not neglect these inferior arts, by which comforts, and even elegances of social life, are supplied or improved."

For years the Society did excellent work. In his introduction to the *Archæological Survey Reports* † Cunningham has given a very interesting review of the progress of Indian archæological researches "in which the chief share has been achieved by men who were not professed scholars."

"The early death of Jones, in 1794, which seemed at first to threaten the prosperity of the newly established Society, was the immediate cause of bringing forward Colebrooke so that the mantle of the elder was actually caught as it fell by the younger scholar, who, although he had not yet appeared as an author, volunteered to complete the Digest of Hindu Law, which was left unfinished by Jones."

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\* Even in 1823 when the Royal Asiatic Society was founded, to the average Englishmen 'India represented a magnificent myth, a four months' voyage distant from England—a bourne from which many never returned at all, and those that did return came back at such long intervals, and were so changed that they seem to belong to a distinct world'—*The Calcutta Review*, Vol. LX., 1875.

† *Archæological Survey of India*—Vol. I.



Colebrooke left India in 1815. But before he left Horace Hayman Wilson had become Secretary of the Asiatic Society. And after Wilson came Dr. Mill.

"But a new era now dawned on Indian archæology, and the thick crust of oblivion, which for so many centuries had covered and concealed the characters and language of the earliest Indian inscriptions, and which the most learned scholars had in vain tried to penetrate, was removed at once and for ever by the penetrating sagacity and intuitive perception of James Prinsep." The untimely death of Prinsep at forty years of age, and in the midst of his brilliant discoveries was a great loss to Indian archæology, and "it is impossible to help regretting that he was not spared for a few years longer to complete and perfect what he had already done, and, perhaps, to add fresh laurels to his fame by further discoveries."

Prominent among his successors were James Fergusson, Markham Kittoe, Edward Thomas, and Sir Alexander Cunningham in Northern India; Sir Walter Elliot in Southern India; and Colonel Meadows Taylor, Dr. Stevenson, and Dr. Bhan Dâji in Western India.

Speaking at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Lord Curzon said:—"In the domain of archæology as elsewhere, the original example of duty has been set to the Government of India by individual effort and by private enthusiasm; and only by slow degrees has Government, which is at all times and seasons a tardy learner, warmed to its task. The early archæological researches conducted by the founders and pioneers of this Society by Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson and Prinsep, and by many another *clarum et venerabile nomen* were in the main literary in character. They consisted in the reconstruction of alphabets, and translation of manuscripts and the decipherment of inscriptions. Sanskrit scholarship was the academic cult of the hour. How these men laboured is illustrated by the fact that Prinsep and Kittoe both died of

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§ This is exactly what can be said of the authorities in England too. Speaking of the three great English Oriental scholars—Jones, Colebrooke, and Wilson—a writer in the *Calcutta Review* has justly remarked—"It is characteristic of the institutions of England that to not one of these three great Lights did the Sovereign or the State, prodigal in honours and pension to second-rate lawyers and third-rate divines, make the slightest acknowledgment."—Vol. LX., 1875.

overwork at the age of forty. Then followed an era of research in buildings and monuments; the pen was supplemented by the spade; and, in succession, descriptions, drawings, paintings, engravings, and in later days photographs and casts gradually revealed to European eyes the precious contents of the unrifled quarries of Hindustan. In this generation of explorers and writers special honour must be paid to two names, to James Fergusson, whose earliest work was published in 1845 and who was the first to place the examination of Indian architecture upon a scholarly basis, and to General Sir A. Cunningham, who only a few years later was engaged in the first scientific excavation of the Bhilsa topes. These and other toilers in the same field laboured with a diligence beyond praise, but the work was too great for individual exertion, and much of it remained desultory, fragmentary, and incomplete.\*

In 1823 the Royal Asiatic Society was founded; and Henry Colebrooke read his primary discourse. "As the veteran Civil Servant warmed to the subject, he seemed to transport himself to his seat in the Council room, Calcutta, with hundreds of subordinates scattered over the vast country, to whom, to hear was to obey." We think we hear him reading the measured sentences of his discourse, for long practice had made him write well, and the stately sesquipedalia flowed from his pen, detailing a field of research "as wide as the regions and as various as the people who inhabit them are diversified." It embraces their history, ancient and modern, their civil polity, their long-enduring institutions, their manners and their customs, their languages and their literature, their sciences, speculative and practical, the progress of knowledge among them, the pitch to which it has attained, and last, but most important, the means of its extension."

A study of the archæology of India is at once interesting and useful. The ore is rich, and only willing workers are wanted—who will work for the love they bear to learning—to extract the rich metal. But the subject has hitherto been unfortunate in not securing many students—especially among Indians who are, by nature, best fitted to enter into the spirit of the civilisation which produced those magnificent works.

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\* *Ancient Indian Buildings.*

In Bengal the number of students is, perhaps, even less than in the other provinces. In Bengal the monumental works of the late Raja Rājendra Lāla Mitra are, almost, the first and the last of their kind. Since the death of the Raja young aspirants have now and then made short-lived attempts to gain his exalted position. But their intellectual inferiority and indolence which has disinclined them to be at the pains of looking for threads of connection, entangled and obscured by the confusion of many troubled centuries, combined with a desire to gain undue credit for their works have made these sciolists unable to soar very high. And hardly any among his delinquent disciples and quondam clerks can be said to have made a serious and systematic study of the subject. And "the archæology of India is, at present, an almost unworked field." \* Here we cannot help deploring the untimely death of Babu Raja Krishna Mukerjee to whom belongs the credit of utilising the data of the era of Lakshmana Sena and of bringing it to bear on the history of Bengal, and the early death of Babu Purna Chāndra Mukerjee so recently engaged in research work in Pātaliputra.

Materials are not wanting, but on the other hand are abundant. The Archæological Survey Reports alone are a mine of useful information. These Reports are, as they must be, reports on groups in particular localities. The student has to master these reports, classify the objects into well-defined groups according to their peculiarities of style, assign dates and trace the gradual growth and deplorable decay of the arts. He must trace the causes of the growth, the development of one style from another, the influence of one upon another. And he must trace each step of the decay. He must understand the civilisation that produced them, and the counter-waves that brought about the decay. "A student" remarks Sir W. Martin Conway, "must know something of the social and political history and religious ideas of the ancient Egyptians before he can understand why a pyramid was built, or a 12th dynasty tomb hewn in the rock, or what is the meaning of a Rameside temple; or can properly appreciate the qualities of the Egyptian Renaissance under

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\* J. W. Rhys Davids—*Buddhist India*.

the 26th dynasty ; or can value aright the great architectural monuments of the Ptolemes. Again, the staged temples of Babylonia, the ruined palaces of Assyria, the scattered remains of the Hittites and Phœnicians, are expressions of different civilisations, by whose history they must be interpreted and upon which in turn they shed a brilliant illumination. It is the same with the remains of Cyprus and the islands and coasts of the Aegean"\* So the student must know something of the social and political history and religious ideas of the ancient Indians to understand why the gigantic temples of Southern India were built and why the cave-temples of India were hewn in the rock—why an immense gap of five or six centuries occurs between what we may assume as the origin of the Hindu style of architecture and its first known example, why "in Western India the older caves seem as a rule to have been decorated with painting, while sculpture was as generally employed in the East"—how as early as the 11th century A.D. the Buddhist *chaitya* in India, standing in the centre of its *vihāra* had already been sublimated into an idol temple, surrounded by a series of idol niches.

Materials we have said are not wanting. Men are wanted—men who will labour for the love they bear to learning, who will spare no labour to discover entangled and obscured threads of connection to reconstruct the history of an ancient civilisation. Indians are unwilling to undertake this glorious—this noble undertaking, which should be done by them. This is due partly to their training and partly to the system of education which makes them "rub each other's angles down," and lose all reverence for their ancient past.

In his Centenary Review of the Researches of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Raja Rājendra Lāla wrote, "Natives \* \* have generally speaking, a defective education in early life, and cannot engage in researches, the fruits of which have to be recorded in a foreign language." The foreign language has never proved an insurmountable bar to the expression of opinion for Indians. A perfect diction, and a smooth flow of words are not essential to a work on an abstruse subject like archæology, specially when

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\* *Domain of Art.*

written by a foreigner. And European savants have always shown unusual tolerance for the English of Indian writers in the hope of finding something new and original in their writings. And it is here that they have been sadly disappointed. The defective education which has failed to produce a love of learning for its own sake is the true—the only reason why Indians seldom engage in research.

England has sown the seeds of a liberal education among Indians. But after fifty years' trial the system adopted has been weighed and found wanting. It is to be regretted. But it must be admitted that the system is badly in need of reform—whatever may be the method adopted.

Here it may not be out of place to say a few words on the charge of vandalism so glibly brought against the Government. Speaking of the old days of John Company Lord Curzon says—“How strongly the barbarian still dominated the æsthetic in the official mind, may be shown by incidents that from time to time occurred.” And he goes on to say—“In the days of Lord William Bentinck the Taj was on the point of being destroyed for the value of its marbles. The same Governor-General sold by auction the marble bath in Shah Jahan's Palace at Agra, which had been torn up by Lord Hastings for a gift to George IV., but had somehow never been despatched. In the same *regime* a proposal was made to lease the gardens at Sikandra to the Executive Engineer at Agra for the purposes of speculative cultivation. In 1857, after the Mutiny it was solemnly proposed to raze to the ground the Jumma Musjid at Delhi, the noblest ceremonial mosque in the world, and it was only spared at the instance of Sir John Lawrence. As late as 1868 the destruction of the great gateways of the Sanchi Tope was successfully prevented by the same statesman. I have read of a great Mahomedan pillar, over 600 years old, which was demolished at Aligarh, to make room for certain municipal improvements and for the erection of some bunia's shops which when built were never let. Some of the sculptured columns of the exquisite Hindoo-Mussulman mosque at Ajmere were pulled down by a zealous officer to construct a triumphal arch under which the Viceroy of the day was to pass.”\*

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\* *Ancient Indian Buildings.*

The chief reason of these acts of "vandalism" surely was that the idea of preserving India as a part of the British Empire and a jewel in the crown of its sovereign had not yet taken root in the English mind.

Lord Curzon deplores "that the era of vandalism is not yet completely at an end is evident from recent experiences, among which I may include my own."

But if here and there stray cases of "vandalism" have been committed through the ignorance of administrators and the mistake of over-zealous officials, have we not got statesmen who have publicly deplored such acts and declared that the conservation of ancient monuments is "one of the primary obligations of Government officials who have set excellent examples by adopting the Indian style of architecture in buildings; artists, who in a fit of generous indignation, have called their own countrymen 'Philistines' who "in the name of European culture and civilisation crush out the artistic feeling of the Indian peoples, tourists who would fain ask—like Byron—'the last, the worst dull spoiler, who was he?'"

Even when the Government of India was concerned in laying the foundations and extending the borders of a new Empire, and could think little of the relics of old ones—"from time to time a Governor-General in an access of exceptional enlightenment or generosity spared a little money for the fitful repair of ancient monuments. Lord Minto appointed a committee to conduct repairs at the Taj. Lord Hastings ordered works at Fatepur Sikri, and Sikandra. Lord Amherst attempted some restoration of the Kutub Minâr. Lord Hardinge persuaded the Court of Directors "to sanction arrangements for the examination, delineation and record of some of the chief Indian antiquities." But of course these spasmodic efforts resulted in little more than "the collection, of a few drawings and the execution of a few local and perfunctory repairs."

But once warmed to its task the Government spared neither men nor money to carry on its noble work. Lord Canning first invested archæological work in India with permanent Government patronage by constituting in 1860, the Archæological Survey of Northern India, and by appointing General

Cunningham, in 1862, to be Archæological Surveyor to Government. In the Minute by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India in Council on the Antiquities of Upper India,—dated 22nd January 1862—Lord Canning wrote :—

“In November last when at Allahabad, I had some communications with Colonel A. Cunningham, then the chief Engineer of the North-West Provinces, regarding an investigation of the archæological remains of Upper India.

“It is impossible to pass through that part—or indeed, so far as my expérience goes, any part—of the British territories in India without being struck by the neglect with which the greater portion of the architectural remains, and of the traces of by-gone civilisation have been treated, though many of these, and some which have had least notice, are full of beauty and interest.

“By ‘neglect’ I do not mean only the omission to restore them, or even to arrest their decay ; for this would be a task which, in many cases, would require an expenditure of labour and money far greater than any Government of India could reasonably bestow upon it.’

“But so far as the Government is concerned, there has been neglect of a much cheaper duty,—that of investigating and placing on record, for the instruction of future generations, many particulars that might still be rescued from oblivion, and throw light upon the early history of England’s great dependency ; a history which, as time moves on, as the country becomes more easily accessible and traversable, and as Englishmen are led to give more thought to India than such as barely suffices to hold it and govern it, will assuredly occupy, more and more, the attention of the intelligent and enquiring classes in European countries.

“It would not to be our credit, as an enlightened ruling power, if we continue to allow such fields of investigation, as the remains of the old Buddhist capital in Behar, the vast ruins of Karouj, the plains round Delhi, studded with ruins more thickly than even the Campagna of Rome, and many others, to remain without more examination than they have hitherto received. Everything that has hitherto been done in this way has been

done by private persons, imperfectly and without system. It is impossible not to feel that there are European Governments, which, if they had held our rule in India, would not have allowed this to be said.

"It is true that in 1844, on a representation from the Royal Asiatic Society, and in 1847, in accordance with detailed suggestions from Lord Hardinge, the Court of Directors gave a liberal sanction to certain arrangements for examining, delineating, and recording some of the chief antiquities of India. But from one reason or another, mainly perhaps owing to the officer entrusted with the task having other work to do, and owing to his early death, very little seems to have resulted from this endeavour. A few drawings of antiquities, and some remains were transmitted to the India House, and some 15 or 20 papers were contributed by Major Kittoe and General Cunningham to the journals of the Asiatic Society; but so far as the Government is concerned the scheme seems to have been lost sight of within two years of its adoption.

"What is aimed at" the Minute went on to say, "is an accurate description,—illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings, or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions,—of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are retained regarding them."

From that period date the publications of the Archæological Survey of India, "which have at times assumed different forms, and which represent varying degrees of scholarship and merit, but which constitute, on the whole, a noble mine of information, in which the student has but to delve in order to discover an abundant spoil. For over twenty years General Cunningham continued his labours, of which these publications are the memorial. Meanwhile orders were issued for the registration and preservation of historical monuments throughout India, local surveys were started in some of the subordinate Governments, the Bombay Survey being placed in the capable hands of Mr. Burgess, who was a worthy follower in the footsteps of Cunningham, and who ultimately succeeded him as Director-General of the Archæological Survey. Some of the Native States followed the example thus set to them, and either applied



for the services of the Government archæologists, or established small departments of their own.”\*

Lord Northbrook, a generous patron of the arts, issued orders in 1873 as to the duties of Local Governments. And in his viceroyalty, Sir John Strachey was the first Lieutenant-Governor to undertake a really noble work of repair at Agra—“a service which is fitly commemorated by a marble slab in the Palace of Shah Jahan.”† Later on Sir Antony Macdonnell sustained, in point of generous and discriminating sympathy, the traditions created by Sir John Strachey.

“The poetic and imaginative temperament of Lord Lytton could not be deaf to a similar appeal. Holding that no claim upon the initiative and resources of the Supreme Government was more essentially Imperial than the preservation of national antiquities, he contributed in 1879 a sum of 3¼ lakhs to the restoration of buildings in the North-West Provinces, and proposed the appointment of a special officer, to be entitled the Curator of Ancient Monuments, which, while it did not receive sanction in his time, was left to be carried by his successor Lord Ripon.”‡

It was under the Aegis and with the assistance of the Bengal Government that Rajendra Lala fought his battles. The Government afforded him every opportunity to continue his researches, and published the results of his labours in—what Mr. Fergusson aptly calls “the magnificently illustrated volumes issued by the Bengal Government”—and honoured him with a decoration for which many a worthless scion of the “aristocracy” and many a monied upstart must sigh in vain.

We all appreciate and admire the keen interest Sir John Woodburn took in work of renovation and repair in Orissa and at Gaur.

Under Lord Elgin’s auspices the Archæological work of Government has been placed upon a more definite basis. “The entire country has been divided into a number of circles, each with a surveyor of its own, and while the establishment is regarded as an Imperial charge, the work is placed under local control, and receives such financial backing

\* Lord Curzon on *Ancient Indian Buildings*.

† See Keene’s *Under the Empress in the East and West*—January, 1904.

‡ Lord Curzon on *Ancient Indian Buildings*.

as the resources of the local Governments or the sympathies of individual Governors may be able to give it."

Last, but not least, comes Lord Curzon who has openly declared that he regards "the conservation of ancient monuments as one of the primary obligations of Government." "We are" he has said, "the custodians for our own age of that which has been bequeathed to us by an earlier, and \* \* posterity will rightly blame us if, owing to our neglect, they fail to reap the same advantages that we have been privileged to enjoy." He has earned the gratitude of all Indians by his earnest endeavours to preserve the Ancient Monuments of India.

There is yet another thing for which Lord Curzon has not yet received his full share of credit. Not the least embarrassing among the many difficulties that beset the path of the student of archæology in India is the costliness of works on the subject. Most of these works are very costly and some, having grown scarce, fetch prohibitive prices. This—together with some other difficulties—Lord Curzon has removed by opening the Imperial Library in the Metropolis of British India. The idea of the Imperial Library could have been conceived, only by a scholar Viceroy and carried out by a lover of learning. And let us hope—with Lord Curzon—that some day some future scholar, as his *magnum opus* takes shape at the tables of the Library will "rejoice that the opening years of the 20th century attempted to do for literature and learning in the Capital of India what the 19th century had too long ignored."

HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.

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## Art. V.—THE CURE OF CRIME.

*Prevention is better than cure*, is an old and trite adage but none the less true in that it happens to be lip-worn and hackneyed. The truth of the assertion calls for no demonstration: everybody is prepared to admit it, no matter what may be the subject to which it is applied. And if there can be said to be any one subject to which the assertion is more pertinent than to another it is Crime. Happy will be the people who live in that millennium in which there will be crime only in fancy, but not in fact: in which there will be no criminals *in esse*, although always many *in posse*, if criminologists are to be taken *au grand sérieux*: in which all crime will be nipped in the bud long ere it mellow to fruition. Unfortunately for the public in general and fortunately for a small section of the public in particular, to wit, the police, that golden age is still an embryo in the womb of Time, and, judging from police statistics, is not likely to see the light for many hundreds of years to come. Time to give birth to the Perfect Child will exact a very long period of gestation.

Accepting then the fact that crime cannot in these days of imperfection be always foreseen and prevented, it behoves those of us who have been constituted the guardians of the Public and those of us who have been constituted mouthpieces of the Public as regards the punishment of criminals to see (a) that the sentences awarded to those who have been caught offending against the Public are deterrent ones, or, (b) if there can be no question of a deterrent punishment in the case of those who live by crime and as such are prepared to accept all punishments given to them as necessary adjuncts to their dangerous profession that the sentences awarded serve to keep them out of harm's way as long as the Law permits and the circumstances of the case and the facts of their previous criminal history appear to demand.

Obviously then the necessary factor in the proper adjudication of such sentences is to be found in the full exposition of the previous criminal history of the offending individual, for

the whole of Penology turns on the number of times that an accused in Court has been previously convicted. His previous history sheet determines whether his sentence must be awarded purely with an eye to deterrent effect or whether it must be regarded only as a period during which he shall be incarcerated and thus kept out of the way of mischief.

The assumption that a Magistrate is in possession of the full facts relating to all previous moral derelictions on the part of the accused pre-supposes that the system of identification of old offenders, the trace of their past criminal history and a formal proof of the same is as perfect as it is humanly possible to make it.

Have we in India that three-fold perfect system? Does our present system fulfil its *raison d'être*? The writer of this article is firmly convinced in his own mind that the system is very far from perfect and possesses many pernicious and inherent defects that cause it to break down just when it should not. Is there an Indian Police Officer of any appreciable service who can honestly say that he has never sent into Court an accused who was subsequently identified as an old offender? Has he never had a case in which he has put up before a Magistrate an accused with the tally of his previous convictions incomplete. The writer is certain that there is not. At least he has, and as he owns to the soft impeachment his memory carries him reluctantly back to several cases in which he allowed men to pass through his hands and be sentenced to terms of imprisonment that were wholly incommensurate with their deserts. Again, is there in India a Magistrate of any standing who can not recall cases in which the Police sought to have admitted in evidence previous convictions that he himself had to disallow on the grounds that he felt sceptical of the identity of the accused in his Court with the person to whom they belonged. The writer believes that there is not, and as he writes this he has before him such a case from a Sessions Judge.

If this is so, then surely "there is something rotten in the State of Denmark." Is it the system that is at fault or is it merely that the subordinate Police Officers do not carry out standing orders in regard to the identification of old

offenders, or the orders on the subject of the trace of the previous convictions on record against men that they know are previously convicted criminals? Anybody who has studied the subject will readily admit that the system is in fault much more than the subordinate Police.

Let us then examine that system, see what its inherent defects are and try if it is not possible to evolve a perfect (or a relatively perfect) system to replace it.

Although there are minor differences among the systems obtaining in the various provinces, the broad principles of them all are the same,—a district system (that is part and parcel of the system of surveillance *en passant*) and a provincial system.

The district system consists in maintaining at the Headquarters of a district a register in which are recorded particulars in regard to the name, father's name, age, residence, descriptive roll, sentence, etc., etc., of every person who has been convicted of any offence, a second conviction of which renders him liable to an enhanced punishment under Section 75 of the Indian Penal Code, or to whipping as an additional punishment under Sections 3 or 4 of Act 6 of 1864 (the Whipping Act). This register is indexed alphabetically according to the names of the persons recorded therein (a very obsolete and unsatisfactory system of indexing at that). The particulars recorded in this Headquarters register are then transcribed into various registers of the Police Station in the jurisdiction of which the convicted person resides, and these particulars form the basis of the divisional system of police surveillance and police identification of old offenders.

The provincial system is, as has been already stated, a finger-impression one. Although it necessarily deals with the same class of criminals as the district system, that is to say, only with persons who are liable to an enhanced punishment or to whipping as an additional punishment, the different provinces show some little variation in regard to the degree to which the finger-impression slips of such persons are filed on record in the provincial Bureau. In some provinces the aims of both systems overlap if not actually coincide. For instance one province that shall be nameless files on record in its provincial Bureau the finger-impression slip of every person convicted, thus making

either the work of their Bureau or the work of their district registers and (*a fortiori* the work of their divisional registers) pure waste of time. The majority of provinces however (with here and there minor variations that are not worth noticing in this article) accept the obviously natural line of demarcation between the men to be dealt with by each system and only file on record, in the provincial Bureau the slips of such men as commit, or are reasonably supposed to commit crime outside their own districts, and as such may be regarded as provincial criminals, as opposed to district criminals whose field of operations does not extend beyond the borders of their own districts.

The procedure in all provinces in regard to the formal proof of the previous convictions is, of course, to be found in section 511 of the Criminal Procedure Code which runs as follows :—

“ In any inquiry, trial, or other proceeding under this Code, a previous conviction may be proved, in addition to any other mode provided by any law for the time being in force—  
(a) by an extract certified, under the hand of the officer having custody of the records of the Court in which such conviction was had, to be a copy of the sentence or order ; or  
(b) in case of a conviction, either by a certificate signed by the officer in charge of the jail in which the punishment or any part thereof was inflicted, or by production of the warrant of commitment under which the punishment was suffered ; *together with, in each of such cases, evidence as to the identity of the accused person with the person so convicted.*”

When therefore a person is *challan*-ed for any offence for which he may on conviction receive an enhanced punishment or whipping as an additional punishment, the Police Officer who is *challan*-ing the case is responsible for tracing out from the various registers of his Police Station any previous convictions that may be on record against the man. Should he fail to do so and have reason to think that the man in question has on record against him convictions that he, the Police Officer, knows nothing about, or should he believe, even though he has produced various convictions from his own registers, that there may be others that he knows nothing of, a reference is made to the Headquarters register. Should the Police in

charge of that register fail to produce anything anent the man and have reason to suppose that he has convictions of another district that they know nothing about, or should they believe, even though they have produced one or more convictions from their own register, that he may have others belonging to another district, they make a reference by finger-impression slip to their provincial Bureau, and to other provincial Bureaus also if they consider this necessary. Besides this they also, of course, make a reference by docket to the Police in charge of the Headquarters register of all districts that the arrested person cares to name as the ones, or which the Police believe are the ones, from which he comes or in which he has resided or been convicted.

Now the inherent defects of this system and procedure, in regard to the identification of old offenders\* and a trace of the previous convictions on record against them are at once apparent. Let us take the following four hypothetical cases in illustration of these defects : they embrace all possible conditions of the knowledge of the Police of the arrested person.

(1) The Falana Police of the Kahanpur District arrest a man, calling himself A., son of etc., etc., who states that he is a resident of the Falana Police Station jurisdiction. The Falana Police know him as such.

(2) The Falana Police of the Kahanpur District arrest a man, calling himself B., son of etc., etc., who states that he is a resident of the Falana Police Station jurisdiction. The Falana Police do not know him.

(3) The Falana Police of the Kahanpur District arrest a man, calling himself C., son of etc., etc., who states that he is a resident of a Police Station jurisdiction other than the Falana Police Station or a resident of a district other than the Kahanpur District. One or more of the Falana Police know the man to be the individual that he states himself to be.

(4) The Falana Police of the Kahanpur District arrest a man, calling himself D., son of etc., etc., who states that he is a resident of a Police Station jurisdiction other than the Falana Police Station jurisdiction or a resident of a district other than the Kahanpur District. None of the Falana Police can corroborate the man's statement.

Now in case (1) A is known to the Falana Police as either an *ex*-convict to whom they have been in the habit of paying periodical domiciliary visits or as an up-to-date good character. In the first case they produce the previous convictions on record against him from their registers, and in the second case, after probably a very perfunctory (if any) enquiry to find out if the man has ever left his village and possibly committed crime elsewhere in the past, they send him into Court with a clean previous history sheet. Now personal knowledge of the doings and movements of their neighbours, neither on the part of the Police nor on the part of the public, is so exhaustive that it can with perfect safety be asserted that, in the first case the tally of A.'s previous convictions is complete, or that in the second case A. has nothing on record against him in another part of the Kahanpur District or in another part of India. At least then a reference should be made to the Headquarters register of the Kahanpur District and to the provincial Bureau by the Falana Police. But there are few Police who do not rest content with their personal knowledge and enquiry, and, even if the rules lay down that the Headquarters Police must check all *challan* disposed of in the interior of the district to see that the tally of the previous convictions is complete, do not put up the case in Court without waiting for a reply from the Headquarters Police.

In case (2) B. cannot of course be an *ex*-convict of the Falana Police Station jurisdiction and masquerading under an assumed name, as the Falana Police would at once be able to give him his correct identity on seeing him. He is merely then an individual whom the Police in the course of their duties have never had occasion to remember. The Falana Police then proceed to verify B.'s statement that he is a resident of their jurisdiction. If his statement turns out to be false, his case falls under the condition (4), that is dealt with later on. If on the other hand his statement is correct, the Falana Police do not trouble to make any but the most perfunctory (if any) enquiry as to whether he has ever in the past left his village and possibly committed crime elsewhere, and B. is therefore sent into Court with a clean previous history sheet. Here is a loop-hole of escape for B. He may have



convictions in other jurisdictions or in other districts, but the Falana Police are not inclined to waste their time searching for them. Obviously then in all cases except where the Falana Police are absolutely certain that B. is being tried for the first time in his life, a reference should be made to the Headquarters register and to the provincial Bureau.

In case (3) C. is not a resident of the Falana Police Station jurisdiction, but happens to be known as C. to one or more of the Police there. A reference is therefore made by the Falana Police to the Headquarters register. If C. is a resident of the Kahanpur District such convictions as belong to him under that name will be produced from the register and intimated to the Falana Police. If on the other hand C. is a resident of a district other than Kahanpur a reference is made to the Headquarters register of that district and such convictions as belong to him under that name will be produced and intimated to the Falana Police. But since the Headquarters register is, as has been already stated, indexed alphabetically according to the names of the persons recorded therein, it is apparent that in both cases if C. has ever been convicted under a different name the previous convictions under that name will not be produced from the register. Here then is a loophole of escape for C. and it is one that is very frequently taken advantage of.

In case (4) D. is unknown to the Falana Police altogether. A reference is therefore made to the Headquarters register under the name of D. If D. is a resident of the Kahanpur District and if D. is his correct name, the previous convictions belonging to him under that name of the Kahanpur District will be produced. If D. is a resident of any district other than Kahanpur, the Police in charge of the Headquarters register of the districts that D. names as the ones, or the Kahanpur Police believe to be the ones in which he has lived or been convicted, are addressed and any previous convictions on record against him produced. But if D. is not his real name, or if the districts that he names as the ones in which he has lived or in which he has been convicted are not the correct ones, the previous convictions on record against him will never be found. It is not difficult to imagine the trouble that a clever criminal, who

has no intention of furnishing the Police with a powerful lever to a heavy sentence against himself, can give by naming one district after another as the one from which he comes, or as the one in which he has been convicted. The writer remembers the case of a professional criminal arrested in the North of India, some two years back, who led the Police in search of his previous convictions through half of the districts in India, until they grew weary of the chase and eventually sent him into Court unidentified. And yet this man had at the time five convictions in almost as many provinces.

So much then for the Headquarters register and the Police divisional registers. The latter are neither intended nor serve to *identify* old offenders, but are merely records of the particulars in regard to the previous convictions of men well-known to the local Police. The former is obviously not of much value as its success depends almost entirely on an improbably unsophisticated exposition of his correct name by the criminal. The whole system is founded on a wrong and too narrow a basis. It assumes that the Indian criminal is a fool and a purely local offender,—an assumption that is not borne out by facts. The Indian criminal is by no means the simpleton or stay-at-home individual that he was many years ago when the present system was devised to meet (and probably did) his case. Nowadays he is a man of some little education, can read and write, calls into his aid modern appliances and modern inventions, and associates himself with others in the commission of offences and in pursuit of his profession takes readily to the railway, and exploits not only one district after another but one province after another. And yet, knowing and realising all this we continue to cling tenaciously to a system that assumes that the criminal is a purely local man.

*As regards the Provincial System of identification*, although it is as perfect a one as human imperfection can make anything, its limited employment does not assist the question of the identification of old offenders as much as it should. As has been already stated, most provincial Bureaus file on record only the finger-impression slips of such convicts as commit, or are supposed to commit, crime outside their resident

districts, and therein lies the root of the evil. It is not possible for any Police Officer to assert positively that a stated criminal never commits crime outside his district. The present system of surveillance over criminals and the present knowledge of the Police of those who are not criminals is not comprehensive enough to permit of any such assertion. It follows of necessity that cases occur in which men who have committed crime outside their districts are not classed as foreign criminals but as district criminals, their finger impression slips are not sent to the provincial Bureau for record, and the result is that if these men are arrested in districts other than their own, and the arresting Police are thorough enough to try to get at all the previous convictions on record against the men, a reference to the provincial Bureau leads to nothing, and probably a reference to the Headquarters register of the various districts named by them as the ones from which they come, or in which they have been convicted, to nothing also. Each man somewhat naturally takes care not to name the one district that could furnish any particulars about him. It is a matter for regret that we should have a perfect system of identification and yet not take full advantage of it.

Let us now pass on to the defects of the present procedure in regard to the formal proof of previous convictions that are put up in Court against an accused.

As has been already stated the procedure is contained in Section 511 of the Criminal Procedure Code that has been quoted above. Particular attention is invited to the closing and italicised words of that section, as they contain the germs of the defects of the present procedure. *Together with evidence as to the identity of the accused person with the person so convicted* is one of those delightfully vague phrases that leave so much to the individual idiosyncrasies of the interpreter.

Now evidence as to the identity of the accused person with the person so convicted can be proved in one of two ways, either by calling on the Jailor of the Jail in which the latter served his time to identify this person as the accused in Court, or by calling on the complainant in the case in which the person was so convicted to identify him as the accused in Court. Some Magistrates prefer the former method : others the latter :

while some Magistrates that the writer knows insist on both methods. Now there are many objections to the present procedure. To start with, to summon a Jailor or a complainant is only to take him away from his work, his fields, or his shop, and as regards the complainant at least, this is not apt to put him in the best of humours. It is hardly to be wondered at that at times the complainant does his best to evade appearance in the Court, or to seize any excuse as a pretext for not recognising the accused in Court as the man who was the accused in the case in which he was complainant, so as to be able to get back to his work, his fields, or his shop. With the Jailor there is not of course, as a rule any reluctance to appear in Court, but in his case as well as in the case of the complainant there are always two suppositions to be guarded against. The first of these is that the Jailor or the complainant may deliberately and dishonestly state that the accused in Court is the person who was so convicted. In the second case both may quite honestly, but at the same time wrongly identify the accused in Court as a man that he is not. A strong similarity of facial features or an imperfect power of recognition (a common enough failing even among educated people) may lead them to make this mistake. The annals of European crime contain many instances of such close resemblance of one person to another that personation was rendered possible and remained for many years undetected. Several cases occur to the writer immediately :—Arnold Du Tilh who was so like Martin Guerre that the latter's wife accepted him as her husband and had three children by him : Pierre Mège, who so closely resembled Isaac de Caille that the Court took thirteen years to decide which man was really Isaac de Caille : the brothers Wakefield, who were so like one another that, on the elder brother being identified as the highwayman who had held up a merchant, he called in his defence, his brother, with the result that the Court had to acknowledge that it was impossible for the merchant to be certain which of the two brothers had been his assailant, and the elder brother had therefore to be discharged. This possibility of error is so self-evident that no Magistrate accepts the evidence

of the Jailor or the complainant until the identity has been corroborated by the descriptive rolls of the two men being found to tally. But descriptive rolls are an unsatisfactory method of identification. In this country where there is no very striking distinctive peculiarity between one native and another, in many instances the value of descriptive rolls is not very appreciable. Any Police Officer who has had to identify an accused by his descriptive roll, will frankly admit, that at times one is more than doubtful as to whether one has laid hands on the right man. Descriptive rolls then are not worth much unless they contain distinctive peculiarities that signal the possessor out from the rank and file.

So much then for the present system of identification of old offenders, the trace of their previous convictions and the formal proof of the same. All along the line the system is faulty and defective where it is not purely unsatisfactory.

Have we any system to replace it that will produce better results? The writer is convinced, in his own mind, that a wider employment of the finger-impression system as regards the identification of old offenders, and the use of the finger-impressions in the formal proof of the identity of the accused in Court with the convicted person that he is supposed to be, would yield almost perfect results. He details his scheme as follows:—

‘The present system of identification is, as the reader has no doubt already noticed, primarily a Police divisional one, that is to say, it is the duty of the Police of the Police jurisdiction in which the man has been arrested to trace out his past criminal history from their registers. If the divisional Police fail, the district Police, *i.e.*, the Headquarters registers, come to the rescue and if the district Police fail, the provincial Bureau see whether they can help. This pre-supposes that criminals are divisional criminals first, then district and finally provincial and imperial. Although this is a truism, it is more than doubtful if it is safe to base a system of identification on it. To do so means, as has been pointed out, that criminals who fall into two or more of these classes often escape identification, and yet it is these very men who are the most dangerous to Society and of whose previous criminal history it is very

essential that we should have all possible information. The system of identification should obviously not be worked as is done at present from the centre of a circle (the divisional criminal) outwards towards the perimeter of an indefinite circle (the imperial criminal), but *vice versa* from perimeter to centre, from the provincial criminal to the divisional criminal. Again it is open to question whether the divisional Police ought to have anything at all to do with the identification of offenders, and if this is true of the divisional Police it is just as true of the district Police. It would certainly be much better, and would yield far more effective results, if the divisional Police and the district Police concerned themselves only with the surveillance of old offenders and left the whole matter of their identification to a provincial system. That is to say, the present Headquarters registers should be abolished, and in all cases where, in the past, particulars of men were recorded in those registers, the finger-impression slips of the men should be taken instead and filed in the provincial Bureau. The Headquarters register is useless as a means of identification and the divisional registers were never intended to be more than a record of facts pertaining to *ex*-convicts for surveillance purposes. Let the former go then, since the successful trace in them of the previous convictions on record against any stated person, is contingent on his giving true particulars as to his name and his residence, or on the man being personally known to the Police as a certain *ex*-convict, and let the latter only remain as a useful record for surveillance purposes but not as a means of identification, and finally let us replace both systems by the finger-impression system which is, as all know, not dependent for its success on any factor that is liable to natural change or wilful alteration.

The obvious objections to the proposed scheme is that delay might ensue in the disposal of cases, before the Police could make a reference to the provincial Bureau and receive a reply, and that the number of slips on record in the provincial Bureau would be too many to make a successful trace possible.

As regards the first objection, in the large majority of cases the usual ten days' remand in Police or Magistrate custody is

very easily obtainable, and this gives plenty of time for a reference to be made to the provincial Bureau and for a reply to be received from there. The remaining few cases would have to be dealt with by a special new section of the Criminal Procedure Code, which would make it permissible to produce in evidence previous convictions against an accused who had been already sentenced. The want of some such provision has been a long-felt one in India. There are few Inspector-Generals of Police who have not, at times, wished to make some such suggestion, and the writer has some authority for believing that the question was mooted at the Conference of Inspector-Generals of Police that was held at Simla when the recommendations of the Police Commission were being considered. Even now the Police have yearly to deal with many persons who are discovered to have been previous convicts after they have been admitted to jail. In the interests of the Public it seems to be only fair that such convictions should be taken into account, even though the man to whom they belong has been already sentenced. The second objection is no objection to anybody who is conversant with the finger-impression system. Even supposing that the number of slips on record in a provincial Bureau were 1,000,000 (an impossible figure), sub-classification can be carried to such a high degree that 1,000,000 slips could be so sub-divided that the number among which search for any given slip would have to be made, would never be more than 20, that being accepted generally as the highest permissible number of slips among which search for any stated slip must be conducted. The writer does not wish to prove his assertion by facts and figures here, as this would lengthen an already too long article, but all officers in charge of Criminal Identification Bureaus will bear him out, he believes, when he says that there is practically no limit to the extent to which sub-classification can be carried and, however far it be carried, search is always both simple and possible. He is of course quite prepared to give facts and figures in another article, and, if necessary, prove his assertion practically if called on to do so.

As regards the employment of finger-impressions in the formal proof of previous convictions, there is a very simple

suggestion. As soon as the Finding Sheet of a Magistrate's Court has been filled in by the Magistrate, the finger-impressions of the person who has just been convicted should be recorded on the reverse by some responsible person in the Court, and countersigned by the Magistrate as having been taken in his presence. This Finding Sheet would then be conclusive proof that the person whose finger-impressions are on the reverse received the sentence recorded on the obverse. All then that the Police would have to do in any case in which they sought to prove previous convictions against an accused would be to call for the Magistrate's Finding Sheet in each case, and put them up as evidence that the accused in Court had those convictions on record against him. The Court would not have to call on Jailors or others to prove the identity of the accused in Court with the person of the Finding Sheets. All it would have to do would be to take the impressions of the accused in Court and satisfy itself that they were the same as those on the reverse of the Finding Sheets.

The objection to this proposal that naturally suggests itself is, that expert opinion is generally supposed to be required to say whether two sets of ten finger-impressions are the same or not. Never was there an assertion further from the truth. Hardly any experience in finger-impressions is necessary to satisfy oneself that two sets of impressions are the same or are not the same. Anybody after being shewn what to look for can say, within a few minutes of his instruction, whether two sets of impressions were made by the same man or not, just as he could decide definitely whether two pieces of paper had the same matter printed on them, when he had been shewn that he had to look at the actual matter printed on each piece of paper, and not at the general appearance of the printed matter. Expert opinion is not required in any cases, except those in which one finger is being compared, and is somewhat smudged or not quite clear, or in which all of the impressions are blurred. The writer asserts that the present reader cannot produce a single Magistrate in India to whom he could not explain all that he (the Magistrate) would be required to know on the subject of finger-impressions for this part of his work, within two days. The writer, while in



charge of a Finger-print Bureau, suggested to all his brother officers that they should send in to him any men to whom they desired that the whole of the finger-impression system and the details of its working should be taught. Several District Superintendents of Police accepted the offer and sent in men to whom the whole detailed working of the system was explained within a fortnight. In no case were any of the men sent for instruction above the rank of Head Constable, and in only two cases, both from the same district, did the men fail to understand the system and how to work it. In the case of the two failures their want of English (a knowledge of the English alphabet and the English numerals is necessary to the proper working of a Bureau) was solely responsible for their *partial* failure. In all of the other cases the men were sent back with a complete knowledge of the system, and in one case the instruction given to a Head Constable was very useful to him afterwards, as he was able to point out to the Bureau that they had made a mistake in the classification of a slip, a mistake that might have resulted in the man not being identified had it not been discovered in time. As District Superintendent of Police, the writer has also explained the whole system in one day to two of his English-knowing Inspectors, and in four days to five of his men, three of whom were Constables, one a Head Constable and the last a Sub-Inspector, all of whom only knew enough English to be well up in the English alphabet and the numerals. The writer details these particulars at length because they prove conclusively that any man of intelligence can be shewn the whole system in a few hours and only requires a few days' practice to be able to turn his knowledge to good account. It is very necessary to disabuse the public of the generally accepted proposition that to identify men by finger-impressions it is necessary to be an expert of long standing.

All Magistrates have to pass an examination in Law and procedure: they should in future be called on to pass in finger-impressions also.

As the writer remarked at the beginning of this article, if crime cannot be prevented, it is the duty of those who have to deal with crime to see that it is properly cured. Our present

system of identification of old offenders, the trace of their previous convictions and the formal proof of the same is neither a perfect nor a satisfactory means to that end. The writer has attempted to suggest an alternative system that, in his opinion, is both satisfactory and as humanly perfect as anything can be, and in view of the fact that everything on the subject of police work is of public interest at present with the recommendations of the Police Commission still unknown, feels that he is justified in giving expression in a public journal to his opinions and suggestions. If his present article can make those in authority view his proposals as the mature opinions of just over three years' honest deliberation and close association with a Fingerprint Bureau, and not as the fanciful dream of a light-headed enthusiast (as his friends persist in regarding them), the trouble taken in the preparation of this article will not have been pure waste of time. He does not ask for much. He only desires an impartial hearing.

T.

## Art. VI.—SACRED ANIMALS OF THE HINDUS.

**F**ERGUSSON, in his well known work "Tree and Serpent Worship," says : "Traces of its existence are found not only in every country of the old world ; but before the new was discovered by us, the same strange Idolatry had long prevailed there, and even now the worship of the Serpent is found lurking in out-of-the-way corners of the globe and startles us at times with the unhallowed rites which seem generally to have been associated with its prevalence." Animal worship can thus be traced in every country of the ancient world, pervading every known system of Mythology and leaving proof of its existence and extent in the shape of monuments, temples, etc., of the most elaborate and curious character. All these bear testimony to the same effect and point to the common origin of the Pagan systems wherever found. Hindus as well, with all their systems of Philosophy, still share with the rest in the system of animal worship contracted in their earlier days. Worship of animals and trees go hand in hand in India.

Of all animals there is none more sacred to the Hindus than the Cow. *Kāmadhēnu*, her progenitor, was one of the twenty-four products obtained from churning the Milky Ocean by Devas (gods) and Asuras (demons). In the Ramayana is described at length how *Kāmadhēnu* (Wish-yielding) supplied King Viswamitra and his men with all they desired during their stay at sage Vasista's hermitage. *Gō-darsana* (seeing a cow) and *Gō-pradakshina* (circumambulating the same) are supposed to bring good luck for the day and the expiation of sins, for it is believed that God Vishnu, goddess Lakshmi, the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, Sapta Rishis (seven sages), Thirthas (holy waters), the Sacred Rivers (the Ganges, etc.), Devas (gods) and others live in the different parts of her body. Even gods in some Hindu temples are brought to the level of men and their good luck ensured by making them open their eyes, in the early morning, on the hind part of a cow kept in front of Garbagriha or the central Sanctuary, as its doors are opened. This is known as *Viswarūpadarsana* (seeing many forms).

Why the hind part of a cow is supposed to be of special virtue in this respect and also the good accruing from going round her, is explained by the following stories—One day a cow, roaming at large from her herd, fell into the clutches of a tiger; and finding no other way of paying her young one the last visit, requested to be allowed to bid good-bye to it. Moved by her requests, the tiger granted her this permission. Mother cow, with tears in her eyes, advised her young neither to stray away from its herd nor to fall into the ill graces of the gardeners, and informed it, with a sigh, the commission she was then engaged in. The hungry tiger, which was anxiously waiting for her arrival, finding her true to her word, fell on her horns and committed suicide. The front of the cow was thus rendered unholy. One, who circumambulates a cow especially as she gives birth to a calf will derive the bliss that one acquires by going round the world. Sage Gautama cunningly claimed, by this means, his wife Ahalya, a special creation of Brahma, long before the other suitors for her hand appeared in the race which they ran in satisfaction of the creator's vow that he would only bestow her on him who went round the world first.

The cow purifies a Hindu both internally and externally. Hindus are taught to believe that their souls must take birth in a cow, the best of the creator's productions prior to their human form. The body is further rendered holier by *Gó-garba-pravesa* (entering the belly of a cow). For this purpose a large hollow cow is carved in stone with her mouth and hind part wide open so as to freely allow a man to pass through her body. Such a cow is placed in holy waters and many a pilgrim enters her mouth and comes out by the other side. The presence of a cow purifies a hall or garden after dinner, a place where a man has died or which has been shut up and uninhabited for some time after a death (the period being fixed according to the Nakshatra or star in which the death occurs), a place selected for the celebration of a sacrifice and generally any spot rendered unholy or to be rendered holier. Cowdung is always used with water in cleansing houses. *Gómayasnána* (cowdung-bath) is one of the seven religious baths enjoined on a Hindu and it is observed by .

smearing cowdung over the body before a bath. *Viboothi* or the Sacred Ashes, which purify a man who marks his forehead with the three stripes of this ash, are prepared from dried cowdung balls. Hindu convicts released from jail, those returned from foreign travel or those whose purity was spoiled by their own misconduct, are not admitted into society before *Práyaschitta* an expiatory ceremony is performed: and before it is done—*Pancha-Gavya* (five materials of a cow)—a mixture of cowdung, urine, butter or ghee, milk, and curds—is given them to be taken, as it is believed that this renders them fit to undergo the ceremony for re-admission into their fold. *Pancha-Gavya* is also taken by those who observe *Vratas* or religious observances (*e.g.*, *Chándráyana*, etc.), in the beginning of *Cháturmása*—a period of four months of Vishnu's sleep in Brinda's 'ashes in atonement for violating her modesty.

*Chándráyana* is a purificatory *Vrata* or observance and a difficult one to observe. It is observed during the first and the last months of *Cháturmása* by taking in fourteen *Kabalás* or morsels of rice on the first day and decreasing it each day by a morsel, until the observer—reaches *Ékádasi* (fasting day in honour of Vishnu). He then breaks his fast the next day by one morsel only and increases his meal by a morsel each day till he reaches again the maximum of fourteen *Kabalás*. On *Uttana dwadasi* day—the day of rising of Vishnu from the ashes of Brinda—a grand dinner is given in honour of the event. The rice, used in the observance of *Chándráyana*, is first given in the shape of paddy to a cow and prepared from the undigested grains collected from her dung.

The Cow yields milk, ghee, clarified butter, etc., the principal materials of worship in a Sacrifice. There are passages in the Sanskrit Literature of many a sage keeping a cow for sacrificial purposes and tying her up on *Vedi* (platform) adjoining *Agni-agára* (the Sanctuary of the three Sacred Fires), as her presence made it holy. Cow's milk is also used in worshipping gods both in *Kshtrabhihika*. (pouring milk on them) which precedes the washing of them with water and scent, and as their food. The milk of *Karámpasu* (cow whose nipples are black) is preferred to that of any others for purposes of worship.

The veneration shown to a cow is so great that she is worshipped in all Hindu households wherever there is one : and *Gó-grasa* or rice balls are offered to her after *púja* (worship) on every Friday. Many cows can be seen even to-day with turmeric and red powders on their faces and backs on Fridays, which indicate such worship of them. *Pindas* or rice balls offered to *Pitris* (manes) in *Srádhás* (annual ceremonies) are given to cows, as this system of the disposal of the rice balls is considered more holy than the mere throwing of them into an ordinary well or sacred waters. *Máttupongal* is an annual celebration of cow worship on a grand scale, when rice is specially prepared in new earthen pots and offered to cows and bulls, after they are duly worshipped in commemoration of the harvest. In the evening they are decorated and driven out through the streets with great pomp and *éclat*. Sometimes a new cloth with a few rupees is tied to the horns of some restive bulls and offered as a prize to any who unties it. Among Kallans (a criminal tribe of Southern India) the winners of such prizes are highly valued.

God Krishna, an avatár or incarnation of Vishnu was a cowherd boy who tended cows and bulls. The appellation *Gópála* means the protector of cattle.\* The whole of the *Yádava* race (cowherds) and their cattle were saved from the continuous downpour of hailstorm at Indra's instance, by Krishna lifting the *Gó-varádhana-giri* (mountain which brought the good of cows) with his little finger. The cowherds of to-day claim their origin from this Puranic Krishna.

*Gó-dána* or the gift of a cow is considered sacred in marriages as well as in funerals. A cow is generally given away to a brahmin on the twelfth day after a recent death, as laid down in the *Garuda Purana*, where it is said that this cow enables the deceased to cross the river *Vaithrani* (the styx of Hell) by clinging to her tail.

*Basava's Játhré* (Bull-festival) is an annual celebration in honour of Basava, the vehicle of Siva. *Lingáyaths* principally observe this festival. Hindu girls also celebrate it. A bull is made of clay and worshipped by a virgin and the important accompaniment of its worship is a dance of *Kóllattam* by girls in front of the bull with music the time of which is kept by the beating of two painted sticks (*Kóllatta Kól*). The girls go

about so dancing and collect money which is spent on a grand procession and a grander dinner on the last day. The bull is then left on that day in a grassy plain apparently to graze there until the ensuing year. It is possible that the prevalence of Kóllattam dance at the present day is due to the original Lingáyath influence.

In olden days, the wealth and prosperity of men were judged by the number of cattle they possessed. *Vrishabófsarjana* (setting a bull to roam at liberty) was nothing but a means to multiplying them. It is of two kinds, *viz.*, Kámyaka, that which is performed for the attainment of desired objects and Préta, that which is done on the eleventh day after death to release the soul from Préta or dead body. The former is celebrated during the lifetime of Yajamána or master and is supposed to propagate the line of his race and the latter to render the deceased fit to go to the various stages in heaven according to his desert. As bulls are largely required for the service of man, for ploughing and other purposes, strong bulls are set at liberty for purposes of procreation, such a bull is branded with a disc and shank by the Vaishnavas (followers of Vishnu) and with Sula or a trident by Saivites (followers of Siva), before they are dedicated to temple service : and they are not to be used for domestic purposes. Such bulls are known as *Gangula Eddhu* (Telugu) or *Perumál Mádu* (Tamil) and are decorated and exhibited in the streets by beggars for alms. The presence of such a beggar is generally made known to the public by his peculiar drum which sounds *dir, dir, dir*. Such bulls often perform many acts and tricks which they have been taught. The chief of them is the lovers' quarrel and the subsequent reconciliation brought about by a mediator, the beggar, for which he is amply rewarded.

The Goddess Lakshmi is believed to live in an elephant. Gándhári, the mother of the Kauravas is said to have worshipped an elephant made of clay without inviting Kunti, the mother of the Pandavas. Arjuna, the last son of Kunti is, therefore, said to have gone to Indra-lóka (the region of Indra) and brought down Írávata (Indra's white elephant), for his mother's worship, so that Gándhari might envy Kunti's worship of

the *Írávata* which was another of the twenty-four products obtained by churning the Milky Ocean. On *Káarthika* day, or the day of illumination a big light or *Anai vilakku*, (elephant light) is first lit up by the daughter-in-law and worshipped in Hindu households.

Monkeys (soldiers of Rama in his expedition against Ravana of Ceylon) are generally respected by the Hindus. *Hanumán*, the monkey chief and a devoted servant of Rama's, is worshipped in temples, specially erected in his honour by *Mádhwas*, the followers of *Mádhwa*, the great reformer who is believed to be himself an incarnation of *Hanumán*.

Whenever *Garuda* (Brahmini Kite), the vehicle of Vishnu, is seen, Hindus pay their veneration to it by touching their cheeks with their fingers, as they repeat a Sanskrit verse which, when rendered into English, is as follows :—"I bow to thee, King of Birds and (as such) the vehicle of Vishnu, whose parts are coloured crimson and whose neck is as bright as the moon." The sight of it on any day and particularly on Sunday mornings is considered lucky, for it is believed that it is then returning from Vishnu whom it had gone to see on the previous evening. Hindus anxiously wait on Sunday mornings with offerings of butter, mutton, etc., to feed it. *Garuda* was the son of *Vinata* and is said to have flown to the abode of *Indra*, extinguished the fire that surrounded it, conquered its guards, and brought away the *Amrita* (ambrosia) which enabled him to release his mother from the bondage of her co-wife, *Kadru*, the mother of serpents. The serpents hastily, on hearing this, returned from their bath to taste *Amrita* and thus become immortal, but to their great disappointment they found that the *Kalasa* (the pot of nectar) had been removed. • They then greedily licked the *Durba* grass (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*) on which the pot had been kept and so had their tongues lacerated by the sharp edges of the grass and hence their tongues have ever since remained forked.

*Audishesha* (the foremost of these) is a monster serpent with a thousand heads and is the Atlas of Hindu mythology. It is believed that at the end of every *Kalpa* (creation) all things are absorbed in the Supreme God, and that till the commencement of another creation he takes repose upon the



serpent *Audishesha* (duration) who is also called *Anantha* (never-ending). Lakshmana and Balarama, the brothers of Rama and Krishna, are supposed to be Avatars of Audishesha. Many stories are current among the Hindus about *Thakshaka*, *Vásuki*, *Kálinga*, and other serpent heroes. *Nága* or the cobra, the descendant of Audishesha is worshipped by the Hindus. Consecutive deaths of new-born babies are attributed to the sin of having killed a serpent in a previous birth, and it is sought to avert it by the performance of funeral ceremonies to a dead cobra. Childless parents generally get a cobra carved in a block of stone and consecrate it in a temple or below Aswatha or the peepul (*Ficus Religiosa*) for purposes of worship. This is known as *Nága-prathista*. On *Nága Chaturti* day (the fourth day of the bright half of the month of Srávana) Hindu ladies pour milk, water, and other materials of worship on stone-carved cobras in worship and observe a fast on that day. In commemoration of it, the natural cowdung carpets of Hindu households are ornamented on that day with the figures of cobras in white powders and the wall near the outside door is also marked with the figure of a cobra, after the worship is over, in mud from an ant hill, the supposed home of cobras. The story is that a brahmin boy, who went to fetch the flowers of Kétaki (*Pandanus fascicularis*) on that day, was bitten by a cobra. His sisters, by the observance of this Vrata, were able to bring their brother back to life. Hence a feast generally follows the preceding fast. The day is also now known as the festival of brothers and sisters. Holes in ant-hills, as they are considered to be the home of cobras, are worshipped by Hindu women, in order that their children may be free from Itch and other skin diseases. Some ladies even go the length of making a vow to take only a few grains of pepper and conchshellful of milk during the days of such worship for the speedy accomplishment of their objects.

## Art. VII.—AN ALIEN YOKE : OR—A DIVINE DISPENSATION ?

“ There is a Divinity that shapes our ends,  
Rough hew them as you wilt.”

I HAVE read with considerable interest Dr. Keene's article “An Alien Yoke” in the last issue of the *Calcutta Review*. Dr. Keene says :—“ *The pressure of taxation pure and simple only represents an average incidence of 1s.\*10d. per head per annum. \* \* \* Candour demands the admission that the alien yoke presses lightly on the Indians, and is not one which it can be their present interest to be rid.*”

But why should Dr. Keene calculate the “*present interest*” in £ s. d. only. What about other advantages ? Is it an alien yoke or a Divine Dispensation ?

The fundamental principle of all moral philosophy is that the real dignity of a man lies not in what he *has*, but in what he *is*. “The Kingdom of heaven is within you.” Such texts are no doubt to be found in the *Gita* ; and Sākya Mūni taught the ancient Hindus what Plato and Aristotle preached in the West, but it was left to England to show the degenerated *modern* Hindu the high ideal of human conduct and the earnestness of life. No doubt the wise Hippocrates 500 years before Christ said, “*Life is short, art long, opportunity fleeting, experiment slippery, judgment difficult,*” but it was the English who made the degenerated Hindus give up oddities, fribbles, and monstrosities, by giving them an idea of the real blood and bone of human heroism. The English, finding the degenerated Hindu as a sort of a human lobster, who lived in the hard shell of “religious” crust, taught him the rarest of social virtues—moral courage. It is by coming in contact with the English that the *modern* Hindu eschewed his two besetting sins, moral cowardice and laziness. Punctuality and regularity he understands now ; and therefore in the place of a hollow and worthless manhood, he enjoys a reasoned existence. Character—cultivated will—is better than lucre. This is England's gift to modern India.

England has taught us that life is simply an energising reason, what Plato called the Imperial Mind, is only another name of God. Crotchets-mongers and puzzle-brains will not agree with me, but I prefer the opinion of cool and practical thinkers. The Battle of Plassey of 1757 was no doubt a decisive battle, but the great social and moral battles which England fights every day in India, imperceptibly shift the centre of gravity of modern Hindu social life. All the wisdom of the Greeks, all the learning of the Germans could not have created such an atmosphere of pure and elevated sentiment which one finds now-a-days in really educated and refined Indian society.

To understand properly what England has done for India let us take a bird's-eye view of the main features of our history from the beginning of the last century. History is, or ought to be, a tracing of the causes which lead to successive events in the life story of a people. Accidents pure and simple are as rare in the history of a nation as they are in the life of an individual. Even when they do occur, they but cause a temporary aberration in the working of the great laws which regulate the march of events, and having spent their forces disappear, leaving the permanent and unalterable laws to work their way without further interruption. The facts of to-day are but the effects of those that preceded them. It is therefore necessary to know what happened before, 'in order to understand what is happening to-day.

Looking into the close of the 18th century we find Tipoo Sultan at the head of a powerful monarchy, viewing with no friendly eye the progress of a power that had just despoiled him of half his dominions. The Nizam, the Peshwa, the Guikwar, the Raja of Nagpur, Holkar, and Sindhia were as yet the sovereigns of large territories and the lords of immense armies—often trained by European officers. The Pindaris—all the turbulent spirits of the country focussed under the leadership of a number of soldiers of fortune—were scouring the country, leaving a track of blood and fire wherever they went. The Nawab Vazir of Oudh was busily engaged in consolidating his power in a province that his father had originally been sent out to govern. The Sikhs had just emerged from the grinding tyranny of a Muhammadan Governor, and were preparing to be a

formidable power under the future Lion of the North. The Rajput princes had just succeeded in drowning the memory of Haldighat and Chitor under the stupefying influence of the "*Kusambha*." Decendants of Yashwant Singh and Mansingh had become the playthings of Amir Khan and the myrmidons of Sindhia and Holkar. Such were the princes who governed the country. Absolutism was the recognised form of Government. Almost all these Governments had their origin within the memory of men then living, and which they owed to the successful rapacity of some powerful soldier or other whose successors had not forgotten the origin of their power and were fully bent upon maintaining it by the same instrument with which they had been acquired. They were ever intriguing for each others' destruction and had consequently no time to look to the internal administration of their dominions. The requirements of their large armies forced them to raise as much money as they could amongst their subjects ; hence from their point of view their fiscal administration was always well organised. But the other portions of their administration were always in a deplorable state ; there were practically no courts of record in their dominions, Judgeships in their civil courts were either openly auctioned, or given to court favourites without any regard to the qualifications of the candidates. Smaller criminal offences were seldom enquired into by anyone, except the "Kotwal" (Police Commissioner) who generally converted them into a source of revenue for himself. Almost every article of commerce constituted the subject of a private monopoly conferred upon a favourite wife or a boon companion. The princes sometimes had their private trading establishments and banks where people were forced to buy and sell at prices fixed by their rulers. The farmers of revenue were nominally responsible for the Police Administration of their villages, but as a matter of fact every strong man could do whatever he chose. Brute force was the only principle recognised by these fortune's playthings for the hour ; success amongst them justified all enormities ; honesty had ceased to guide their public relations ; treaty engagements were entered into only to be broken at the first opportunity ; assassination of an enemy,

either by poison or the dagger, did not raise horror in a single breast and the sacred ties of kinship were broken with perfect impunity. Amongst their subjects the exactions of Government and the scanty protection afforded to them against foreign invasions and internal robberies, the want of roads and the utter want of protection thereon, the numerous tolls, and other dues they were called upon to pay, struck at the root of honest industry, and transformed many an honest agriculturist or trader into a robber and a cut-throat. Violence and rapine were the only things that prospered in this unnatural state of society.

There was, however, one portion of the continent which was free from this state of anarchy and confusion. The Company's dominions on the eastern coast and about Bombay, amidst all this universal discordance and confusion enjoyed tranquillity. They were free from invasions from without, and in spite of great imperfections, in almost every branch of the then existing administration, there was much greater security of life and property to be found in them than anywhere else on the continent. Decennial Settlement had given an impetus to agriculture that was previously unknown in the country. The summary execution of dacoits at the scenes of their crimes made the roads free for the purposes of trade. The Company's trade opened a fresh market for the produce of the country. The result was that numbers of merchants from the Native States came and settled near the Company's factories in order to profit by security and justice which prevailed there. Whilst of the poorer sort, large numbers took service in the Company's army for the pay and pension it held out to them. These on their return home spread most favourable reports of the Company's Government. This comparative excellence of the Company's administration contained within itself the key to the seemingly paradoxical fact of the conquest of an enormous country by a handful of the factory servants of a trading Company. Never in the history of the world has such an enormous result been accomplished with such slender means. Even Peru and Mexico required more men and ampler means to conquer them. The question naturally arises "What was the cause of this extraordinary phenomenon?"

Patriotic Englishmen good humouredly attribute it to the superior stamina of the Anglo-Saxon race, and gravely assure us that "India was conquered by the sword." But such of their countrymen as read and think, know, that though gratifying to the national feeling, the explanation is inconsistent with fact and opposed to probabilities. A reference to history will show, even to the most careless reader, that in almost every battle fought by Englishmen in India five-sixths at least of the conquering army consisted of unmixed Indians. *The absolute want of faith in their own Government could alone have produced such a result.* Sir David Barr in his paper "Akbar: or—Victoria?" very rightly observes:—"Overwhelming force of arms will *conquer* a country, or seize an empire; but it *requires conciliation* to weld the conquest, to bring the conquered nation into subjection and to give root to the administration." We have seen above, how on the dismemberment of the Moghul empire, the country had become a prey to hostile factions; how the different families which had assumed to themselves regal power had failed to win the affections of their people and had become positively hateful to them by the enormity of their crimes, the ferocity of their exactions, and the insufficient protection which they afforded. Amongst a people with a better political history, this state of things would very likely have resulted in a domestic revolution followed by the establishment of limited monarchies or republics. But a Government evolved out of the wishes of the people was a thing unknown to India. Implicit obedience to the ruling power was alike inculcated by religion and precedent, and the people passively wished for the advent of a better and a stronger power. The East India Company was such a power.

Referring to their despatches of the earlier part of the last century we find the Court of Directors repeatedly warning their Governors against any further territorial aggrandisement, nay, sometimes recalling such Governors for disobedience of their orders on this point. Yet we find, in spite of this repeated warning and prospective dismissal, each successive governor entering into fresh wars which always ended in the "much deprecated territorial aggrandisement." The new governors

came out with a sincere desire to be on terms of friendship with the neighbouring princes, and yet no sooner had they landed in the country than they found themselves embroiled in wars. The fact was that the Indian Government was such that a state was compelled either to attack and cripple if not altogether extinguish its neighbours, or allow itself to be extinguished. Possessing the requisite strength themselves, and knowing the weakness of their neighbours, the Company's Governors naturally preferred the former course. They soon learnt that in India safety meant supremacy, and as they naturally loved the first, they found themselves forced to seek it by securing the latter. This supremacy was practically attained about the close of the Second Mahratta War. The policy of forcing the Native Governments to keep armies officered by Englishmen, pursued by the Marquis of Wellesley, put an end to the ever-recurring broils that had made existence a burden and improvement an impossibility. With this change in the position of the Government we find a marked change in its policy. This was the period of peaceful improvements.

Lord Minto in 1811 wrote :—

“It is a common remark that science and literature are in a progressive state of decay among the natives of India. From every enquiry which I have been enabled to make on this interesting subject, that remark appears to me but too well-founded. The number of the learned is not only diminished, but the circle of learning even amongst those who still devote themselves to it, appears to be considerably contracted. The abstract sciences are abandoned, polite literature neglected, and no branch of learning cultivated but what is connected with the peculiar religious doctrines of the people. The immediate consequence of this state of things is the disuse and even actual loss of many books and it is to be apprehended that unless Government interpose, with a fostering hand, the revival of letters may shortly become hopeless, from a want of books or of persons capable of explaining them.”

In 1813 the East India Company directed :—“That a sum of not less than a lakh of rupees in each year, shall be set apart, and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India

and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the British territories of India."

The first English newspaper in India was *Hickey's Gazette* started in 1780. The next paper was the *Bengal Journal*. The Editor of the *Bengal Journal*, Mr. William Duane, was deported from India in 1794. The next paper of any importance was the *Calcutta Journal*, but in 1823 the editors, Messrs. Buckingham and Sandfort Arnot, were deported from India for writing scurrilous articles against Dr. Bryce, a high official of the Government.

The immolation of widows was made penal in 1829. The Regulation of 4th December 1829 is a memorable document :—  
 "It is hereby declared, that after the promulgation of this Regulation, all persons convicted of aiding and abetting in the sacrifice of a Hindu widow by burning or burying her alive, *whether the sacrifice be voluntary on her part or not*, shall be deemed guilty of culpable homicide and shall be liable to punishment by fine or imprisonment or both by fine and imprisonment."

A Registration Act and a quantity of adjective law on miscellaneous subjects under the name of "constructions" were promulgated. Post Offices were established throughout the country ; each district was subdivided into a number of Thanahs presided over by a Darogha, Schools and Colleges were opened for the benefit of the people ; the memorable controversy about the expediency of imparting education through the medium of English or the Indian vernaculars, was settled happily in favour of the former. In 1835 Lord Macaulay wrote :—"I think it clear that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied ; that we are free to employ our funds as we choose, that ought to employ them to teaching what is best worth knowing ; that English is better worth knowing than Sanskrit or Arabic ; that the natives are desirous to be taught English and are not desirous to be taught Sanskrit or Arabic ; that neither as the language of law nor as the language of religion have the Sanskrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement ; *that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.*"



The language difficulty was thus overcome. The great complexity and variety of the Indian vernaculars is well summed up by Dr. Grierson :—

“There are languages whose phonetic rules prohibit the existence of more than a few hundred words, which cannot express what to us are the commonest and most simple ideas ; and there are others with opulent vocabularies, *rivalling English in their copiousness and in their accuracy of idea-consolidation*. There are languages, every word of which must be a monosyllable, and others in which syllable is piled on syllable till the word is almost a sentence by itself. There are languages which know neither noun nor verb, and whose only grammatical feature is syntax, and others with grammatical systems as complicated as those of Greek and Latin. There are parts of India which recall the plain in the land of Shinar where the tower of old was built, and in which almost each of the many mountains had its own language, and there are great plains, tens of thousands of miles in area, over which one language is spoken from end to end.”

In 1833 the following order was issued :—

“And be it enacted that no native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent: colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment, under the said Company.”

Natives of India were then, for the first time, employed by the British authorities in offices of trust and responsibility.

~~Lord~~ Dalhousie incorporated into the Empire the dominions of the princes of Nagpur, Jhansi, Coorg, and Lucknow, the first three on the ground of intestacy, and the last on that of mal-administration. The Punjab was also annexed. These annexations resulted in the benefit of the subject, and every lover of human liberty must rejoice that personal government in them was displaced by government by law. The Marquis went home and was succeeded by Lord Canning. The peace-loving character of the new Viceroy, the prosperous state of the country, the strength of the army, and the efficiency of the Civil Service, everything combined to promise a glorious and peaceful reign. But a shock was soon

felt throughout the Empire in the unexpected mutiny of the Bengal Army. It will be beyond the scope of this article to trace the causes or the course of that national calamity. We will therefore pass over it and proceed to examine the manners and customs of the people of those times, their education, habits of thought, religion and superstition. These will give us a clear idea of the improvements made since.

The residence of a Hindu gentleman of Bengal, for instance, of the pre-mutiny period generally consisted of three sets of buildings round as many contiguous quadrangles. The first was his "*kutcherry*" (the office), the second his place of worship and festivities, and the third his zenana (female apartments). He got up between 4 and 5 A.M., told his beads for about an hour, then sat in his "*kutcherry*" till about 10 A.M., disposing of disputes amongst his tenantry, examining his accounts, consulting astrologers, dictating letters, and deciding caste questions. He then bathed and worshipped his family idols till about noon and took his meals. Then after making some enquiries about the arrangement for his guests, he retired for an hour or so, got up between 3 and 4 P.M. and held his "*kutcherry*" till sunset. His evenings were spent either in listening to the recital of the Puranas by a priest or to music, of which generally he was a fairly good judge. He kept an open house where every stranger could find food and shelter for the asking. His food consisted principally of rice, flour, pulses, fruits, vegetables, milk, ghee (clarified butter), and sugar. His education consisted in some knowledge of Persian imparted to him early in his life, but which he never took the trouble to revise, a smattering of Sanskrit (if he was a Brahman) and decent acquaintance with his own vernacular. His arithmetic reached up to what we now call "practice." Of history he knew only the fables of the Puranas and of the *Shahnamah*, his geography seldom extended beyond the limits of his own District. He believed in ghosts and demons, witches and incantations; a priest was regularly employed in his house to read some sacred book or other to invoke the aid of the gods in warding off the evils of destiny. He had an unlimited contempt for all foreigners except perhaps Englishmen. He felt honoured in shaking hands with an Englishman.

but never forgot to bathe and purify himself to expiate for the pollution! He was simple, quiet and courteous in his manner and inexpensive in his habits. He was charitable to a fault, and religious according to his own idea of religion. A widow marriage, or the partaking of prohibited food scandalized him beyond all measure; but he could tolerate a bribe-taking official or a lying neighbour. He discarded his only son for marrying out of his caste, but did not scruple to win a contested law suit with the assistance of documents of questionable authenticity backed by mendacious witnesses. Such were the country gentlemen of the pre-mutiny period. The common people were more superstitious and ignorant; scarcely one in ten thousand could write his own name. Almost all of them worked as agriculturists, some on their own farms, others as farm servants. Domestic service or the dangerous calling of club-men (*lathials*) were the only other alternatives offered them by the then society. They were still barefooted and what was worse, almost naked and decidedly poor. The growing demands of an increasing population and an ever widening export trade had, it is true, raised both rent and prices, but the cultivator received but a small share of the increase. As yet there was no fixity of tenure in land and the sharp competition of an ever-increasing tenantry made the *malguzar* (land owner) the master of the field.

The educated classes were as yet few in number and of very little influence in the country. In the more important towns the schools and colleges had begun a silent revolution which has ever been at work since then, and of which the end is not yet visible to any of us. Government had wisely prohibited the teaching of any particular religion in its institutions. But the introduction of Physical Science and of Inductive Philosophy into the College curriculum did more to shake the student's belief in the old faith than if Paley and Butler had been part of the prescribed course. The missionaries headed by men like Carey, Duff, Marshman, and other eminent scholars made converts of some of the most promising young men of the most advanced Province of India—Bengal; and the faith of the rest was rudely shaken. The Hindu priests of the period, steeped

to the lips in the fantastic and unreasoned stories of the Purans, appealed to their authority, which the young men despised. The emancipated children of a priest-ridden country rose in open rebellion against the old religion, which they threatened to tear up root and branch. Under the rebound, the distinction between a crafty priesthood and a pure religion was forgotten. The young men took pride in openly doing everything which the old religion had prohibited. It was the old story of the pendulous folly of mankind having gone the other way. For a time, an educated Hindu correlated the idea of hard drinking and meat eating; and disregard of Hindu feelings, even in indifferent matters, came to be regarded as necessary ingredients in the formation of an educated Hindu. But the country was soon relieved from this state of godless profligacy by the appearance of Brahma leaders who discarding the untenable dogmatism of the later Puranas, went deep in the Vedas and evolved pure Theism out of them. They were surrounded by all the purer spirits of the time, and the Brahmaism of the old school, henceforth became practically the dominant faith of the educated classes. These men established societies and published books and articles for the reform of social abuses. It was mainly through their exertions that the Civil Marriage Act was passed. Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar took an active part. The Brahmas preached anathemas against infant marriage, exposed the follies and crimes of the priestly class and entered into religious controversies with the missionaries of the time.

As yet there were perhaps no more than a dozen newspapers in the country. Nearly half of these were English, and with the exception of one, were conducted by Europeans. Gradually vernacular papers were started. They were mostly filled with local news and gossip and contained very little worth reading. Economics or politics seldom received any attention at their hands, and there was as yet no arrangement for press telegrams from Europe or America. The papers were mostly in the hands of uneducated people, and were filled up with "humorous" and satirical and sometimes obscene articles against the missionaries, and whatever of public or private nature that occurred in the town whence they emanated.

As yet the P. and O. Company had not made the passage to England short. There was no such large body of non-official Europeans in the country as now. Years rolled over them in their District or Sub-Divisions without their seeing a single European. Their situation forced them either to remain altogether isolated or to mix with the people. Even the most reserved chose the latter. They attended the festivals of the people, were honoured guests at their marriages and funerals, attended *nautch* (Native Dance) parties, organised wrestling matches and horse races and taught young men to shoot and hunt in their company. There being no railways, nor refreshment rooms at the time, they often had to thank a hospitable landlord or *mahājan* (banker), for a few "*Chapatīs*" (Indian bread) and a night's rest. On the other hand, there was as yet no aspiration on the part of the governed to stand on equal terms with their governors and no Ilbert Bill or Local Self-government Act to disturb the harmonious relations between them. *The relationship was one between a patron and his protégé.*

The Mutiny had passed over the country like a thunder-storm, and like all such phenomena had left the political atmosphere much clearer than before. Thousands of families mourned the loss of dear relatives or of large fortunes; but those who survived, obtained the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 granting special privileges to all subjects irrespective of colour and creed, race and domicile. Sir C. Wood's despatch of 1854 was given effect to, by the establishment of three Universities at the three Presidency towns with a number of colleges affiliated to each. Two Lieutenant-Governorships were created for the better administration of the Bengal Presidency. A general and three local Legislatures were established to frame laws for the varying requirements of a progressive society. A High Court of Justice was established at each Presidency town with better defined powers, in the place of the old Supreme Courts. New railways were opened, telegraphs laid and feeder roads constructed for the better carriage of traffic; steamers took the place of the old sailing vessels and a keen competition amongst independent European merchant firms replaced the practically monopolous

trade of the East India Company. A Civil and Criminal Procedure Code, a Limitation Act and a Penal Code were passed besides a number of local Acts in the place of the old "constructions" and the Mahomedan Criminal Law. These were amongst the beneficial measures that immediately succeeded the transfer of the Government from the Company to the Crown. Since then we have had Municipalities and Local Funds established for the administration of local affairs and natives of India introduced into them, at first, as was only proper, cautiously, when it was found that the experiment succeeded, Indians sometimes obtained at the hands of Government almost the same privileges in these respects as were enjoyed by the people of England. More than one Hindu has acted as Chief Justice, and two Bengalis having given satisfaction as Divisional Commissioners, one has been appointed member of the Board of Revenue in Bengal. Indians have been extensively employed in the service of the Government in almost every branch of the Civil administration. Mass Education, Economic Museums, well digested Rent Laws, and Department of Agriculture and Commerce—in short every act of Government is marked by a liberality of spirit and a wise policy seldom displayed by a foreign Government in the administration of a conquered country.

In the year of the opening of the Universities, hundreds of students went in for the Matriculation Examination. Enterprising and well-to-do young men, disregarding the anathema of caste, ventured the peril of the sea and entered the Indian Civil Service through the broad door of competition. The Government of Sir John Lawrence, to show its appreciation of this bold departure, opened a number of scholarships to compensate young Indians for the extra hardships they were put to, in competing for the service. A number of young men went to Europe. Indian merchants went to England on business; gentlemen at large began to visit the British Isles for pleasure and instruction. These men returned home deeply imbued with the spirit of the institutions of the country of their sojourn. They were met half way by the educated classes at home. Numbers of educated men had entered the Uncovenanted Services of Government as Munsifs, Sub-Judges,

Deputy Magistrates, Surgeons, Engineers, and Deputy Collectors ; others again had joined the Bar or had taken to trade. Most of these men came from the middle classes ; some belonged to its upper strata. But as intellect is practically the only recognised force in modern society, the origin of these men was soon forgotten in their power. In India there scarcely was any aristocracy save that of service. The proudest Indian Noble is forced to admit that the founder of his family was a successful Government servant. These new men were in the same position, and it was only natural that they commanded the same influence. Newspapers were started on all sides both in English and in vernaculars containing selections from English papers of the speeches of public men of England, replete with criticism of the measures of Government as would be tolerated only in England or America. These made a deep impression on the minds of the people. The party organisation of England furnished them with a ready model for forming associations like the *British Indian* (Calcutta), the *Sarvajanika* (Poona), and the *Anjuman* (Madras). To some there was nothing astonishing that the new generation should think more of their present rights than of their past history. The ideal Government which they had been taught to value required that a nation should tax itself ; that beneficial legislation is impossible except by a representative assembly ; that the people should have some control over the national expenditure. The correctness of these *abstract* propositions was never doubted by any thoughtful man in England within the last century, young India—like the inexperienced person that he was—asserted that what is sauce for the goose must also be sauce for the gander. He forgot that there was another side of the picture, another point of light from which the case may be viewed. The average Englishman naturally looked with anger and disgust on what seemed to him the saucy ingratitude of a race who, only a few years ago, were practically slaves under the Muhammadan Government and who owed to himself almost everything that made life desirable—its education, security, and a good deal of its possessions—claiming equal rights with himself. He belonged to a privileged class and his privileges were being attacked, he could not easily

realize that a people to whom the fundamental principles of Government had been almost unknown only a quarter of a century ago should claim to govern itself, nay, openly assert that they could do it better and cheaper. It was true that he had taken pity on an intelligent race, made a foster child of it, given it a liberal education; had filled it with rapturous admiration with his account of the chivalrous resistance of Hampden or the disinterested patriotism of Washington, Mazzini, and Garibaldi. He had taken it behind the screen to look into the origin of Governments under the guidance of Bentham, Lubbock, and Maine, he had sent him to Austin, Hallam, Amos, and May to learn the conditions under which a Government is entitled to claim obedience at the hands of the subject—the Englishman had done all this for the Indian. But he had never thought that his protégé would try to embody his idealism into facts, and that at so short a notice. It was the case of the fond parent feeling hurt at the assertion of a will of its own by the child for whom he had done so much.

Matters were at this stage when Lord Lytton assumed the reins of Government. His Lordship passed the Press Act and opened the Statutory Service. He was succeeded by Lord Ripon who passed the Local Self-Government Act and repealed the Press Act. But the further progress of his policy was checked by the unfortunate introduction of the Ilbert Bill. It was a measure not at all calculated to do any real good to the subject race, and touched a vital point of privilege of the ruling class. In politics much must be surrendered to expediency, specially when the Indian from time immemorial has been used to inequality in laws. Mr. R. C. Dutt, C.I.E., in "*Civilization in Ancient India*" says:—"There was one law for the Brahman, another for the Sudra; the former was treated with undue leniency, the latter with excessive and cruel severity. If a Brahman committed one of the four or five heinous crimes enumerated in the law-books, i.e., if he slew a Brahman, violated his guru's bed, stole the gold of a Brahman, or drank spirituous liquor, the King branded him on the forehead with a heated iron and banished him from his realm. If a man of lower caste slew a Brahman he was punished with death and



the confiscation of his property. If such a man slew a man of equal or lower caste, other suitable punishments were meted out to him (Baudhāyana I, 10, 18 and 19)." Admitting that it was only a prejudice of the ruling race, the subject race should even then have respected it as it really entailed no hardship on them. In the end they were beaten on the point, and much valuable time that could have been better utilized was lost on it. A good deal of race antipathy was evolved out of it, and it entailed some personal suffering on individuals.

For the last fifty years the whole of India has had but one literature for its educated classes. Every educated man has gone through practically the same studies, has had his ideas and tastes formed by the same authors, and has been affected by the same laws and by the same system of Government. The Railway, the Telegraph and the Steamer Service have in a great measure brought the most distant parts of the country near one another. The Calcutta lawyer now spends his *Dussera* in Bombay and Poona, and the Madras Chetty his Christmas holidays in Calcutta and Bombay. The exigencies of the Imperial Service, and of an extensive and ever increasing internal trade bring the people of the different parts of the country into daily contact. The spirit for travel, that the Indians have imbibed from their conquerors, now permeates through every stratum of society; even students now spend their college recesses in visiting distant parts of the country. Fifty years ago the presence of a Maharatta turban would have collected a jeering crowd in the streets of Calcutta, the Honourable Mr. Gokhale now drives undisturbed through the same streets, except it be when he returns a friendly greeting. The absence of all religious teaching from the educational institutions has added a motive to unity. It is no longer an uncommon sight to see a dozen men from different parts of the country and belonging to different castes sitting down together to a friendly dinner. Cases may be quoted of inter-marriages between inhabitants of different Provinces of the Empire. Personal contact daily points out to them unmistakable evidence of a common origin in more or less the same manners and customs prevailing amongst all of them. Thus of the factors which constitute

nationality—a common origin, a single government, and a common literature—two are the direct gifts of England to India, and the other has also been more vividly brought before us through her instrumentality. It will yet take the Indians a great many years to be a compact and united people, but under the protection of the British Government, the soldering has begun is a proposition that can admit of no doubt.

The first thing that strikes one is the gradual disruption of the Hindu family system. The "Karta" (Head of the family) is daily losing ground, and individual will is fast becoming predominant. People now shift for themselves as soon as they are able to earn an independent livelihood; the sight of an entire family of able-bodied men consuming in idleness the fruits of one man's labour does not so often offend the eye. It is to be hoped that the golden mean in this respect will not be overstepped, and a loving regard and a spirit ever-ready to assist one's relatives in their hour of need will not forsake the natives of India.

Female education is making rapid progress in the country. Wherever there is a large intellectual class may be found a number of well-educated ladies. The University authorities have allowed ladies to compete for degrees on equal terms with men, and at present we can count the number of Hindu lady graduates by the dozen. The demand for educated wives increases every year and the supply is also fast on the increase. In India, women now enjoy more consideration and greater liberty than they used to do fifty years ago. The really educated Hindu now understands that it is a suicidal policy to lock up half the race. By coming in contact with Englishmen he now clearly sees that "the hand which rocks the cradle rules the world." He now allows the ladies of his family to escape from the ancient restrictions of superannuated customs, and adorn and delight wider circles than domestic surroundings. He has now confidence in female virtue and is convinced that the educated Hindu lady of to-day may safely be given the liberty which her ancestors enjoyed in ancient India. To some of the Bengali ladies of to-day, even Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill are no strangers; they read Victor Hugo's poems and Moliere's dramas.

They now, with ease, follow the upward march of their husbands, and are quite fitted to take high place in any society. The refined Indian lady is not the result of violent or hasty reform. The reform commenced with Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1813. In connection with female education in India, the names of Lady Amherst and Miss Cook (1819) will always be remembered with gratitude. They were the pioneers of female education in Bengal. Thirty years later, on the 7th May 1849, the Bethune School was opened for the education of Bengali girls. The Brahma Samaj has done a great deal in this direction. In 1866 Bengali ladies first appeared in public. It was during the Māghotsab of that year that a Bengali lady (Mrs. S. N. Tagore) appeared in an evening party in the Government House, Calcutta. A great deal has been accomplished within the last forty years towards the amelioration of the condition of women in India, but much remains yet to be done.

The last Census shows improvement in almost every direction. Sir Charles Elliott, late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, says that the Census of 1901 clearly shows a vast increase in the population of India from 205 to 294 millions in thirty years. Another hopeful sign, writes Sir Charles Elliott, is that progress in learning English is far more rapid than the spread of general education. In 1891 the number who had learnt the language of the conquering race was returned as 537,811, or 36 males and 5 females in every 10,000. Now the total number is 1,125,231 persons, or 68 males and 7 females in every 10,000. The largest number of English literates is found in Bengal, where they number 370,000; Madras comes next with 190,000 and Bombay with 144,000. No other province reaches 100,000. It is unfortunate, however, that the Census Report does not distinguish the English and Eurasians, who learn English instinctively, from the native population who learn it educationally, as a foreign language. In 1891 out of the total figure of 537,811 the native element counted for 386,032. Assuming that a similar proportion obtains now, *the number of natives who have learnt English would be about 789,000, or double what it was in 1891.*

The number returned as literate in all India is 15,686,421, or 53 per mille of the entire population. Of these 14,690,080

are males, and only 996,341 are females, or 98 per thousand among males and 7 among a thousand females. The province which holds the highest place in respect to literacy is Burma : for 378 per thousand of its male population and 45 per thousand of its females can read and write. This is due to the widespread system of free education imparted by the Buddhist Monks at the monasteries, at which it is customary for every male Burman child to spend at least a year ; while the instruction of females is not hampered by the prejudices in favour of their seclusion when they approach the age of puberty, which so greatly impede progress in other parts of India.

The highest authorities in the country have pronounced their judgments in favour of the honesty of native officers in the Judicial Service. 'Untruth and want of candour are now as much deprecated in educated Indian society as they are among Englishmen. A high authority once wrote in a public document that the really educated native is more English than the average Englishman. That may be an exaggeration, but there can be no doubt that with their progress in education the Indians have become more honest, truthful and candid in all their relations. Public spirit in the western sense, was a thing almost unknown fifty years ago. Now there are people who are prepared to lose a great deal in their endeavours for the public good. Fifty years ago to be accused of cowardice, moral or physical, was scarcely considered an insult, and physical weakness was not looked upon as a misfortune. The case is very different now. Those who read newspapers with a view to mark the changes that are taking place around us, cannot fail to notice that a spirit of resistance to personal aggression has already arisen. There is now scarcely a college in the country which has not its gymnasium. Purely Indian circuses attract the admiration of Europeans, and gentlemen athletes are not uncommon. The English conquest of India has made it possible for the occident and orient to meet. The result is that both are benefitted. Orthodox Hindus who pretend to dislike every thing English in reality *admire* every thing English. This may seem paradoxical. But it is true. Erudite Indian scholars like Taranath Tarakavāchaspatis and Bharat Chandra Sirōmani did

not receive a tenth of the homage that Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Swami Vivekānanda did. In oriental learning, all Bengal will admit Tarakavāchaspati and Sirōmani were much superior to Vidyasāgar and Vivekānanda. Vidyasagar and Vivekānanda's knowledge of English helped them to compare Hindu philosophy with western thought. Hence their fame. Take another example, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the great Bengali writer. His *Dharmatattva* is practically Mill's philosophy in oriental garb. His Bhagvat-Gita is a great favourite in Bengal, because in its pages views of western savants like Lassen and Weber are discussed.

India must learn western ways and keep pace with the west or she must go to the wall. Sir David Barr in his article on "Victoria" very pertinently observes "The primary difficulty in India, no matter how worthy the object, is the apathy of those who should be most interested in the welfare of the country. There is no gain-saying the fact that a desire for united action for the common weal is not one of the attributes of the people of India." India must *assimilate* western ways. Blind *imitation* will not do. The Indian must try to harmonize Eastern practices with Western Civilization. India under England has *gained* a great deal and likely to gain more. British supremacy in India therefore, instead of being an *alien yoke*, is really a *Divine Dispensation*.

S. M. MITRA.

Hyderabad, Deccan.

## **Art. VIII.—PROSELYTISM AMONG THE JEWS : AN HISTORICAL PARALLEL WITH A MORAL FOR THE PARSIS.**

**A**T a time when the question of proselytism is being discussed with so much heat and acrimony among the Parsis, it would be of interest to know how a community, somewhat similarly situated to ours, solved this same problem when it presented itself for solution at various periods of their history. The Jews have been and are for a long time in similar circumstances to ours, and there is something to be learnt by the Parsis from their attitude towards the proselytes. The Parsis are a close social community and they think that their social fabric would have to undergo changes which are not thought desirable if foreigners are allowed free-admission into their ranks. The Jews in early Biblical times and other periods of their history thought similarly. They sought to confine their religion within the narrow limits of their race and tribe, and practically were very averse to receive proselytes. Their priesthood developed in the course of time a Hagiocracy which guarded jealously the Revelation given to them as the Chosen People, trying to shut out other peoples from their close preserves.

In later Biblical times after the Dispersion, as the Jews came in contact with the Romans and Greeks, and had access to other parts of the world under Roman sway, and later to the Persian Empire, they became more enlightened by the contact and so far conquered their aversion to proselytes as actually to go in search for them and to welcome them. In those times their learned Doctors formulated rules concerning the proselytes, their obligations and duties, their rights and privileges, and their status in the Jewish community. From these we have to learn much. The Jewish Rabbis discussed all these with much minuteness and we can adopt something from these rules. In post-Christian times when the Jews were scattered and lost their influence, they again became narrow and sought to confine their religion within narrow tribal limits.

They ceased actually to proselytise and only received those who came of their own accord, satisfying themselves of their fitness. But the Rabbis interpreted the rules framed in the heyday of their religion with great strictness and even narrowmindedness with a bias against proselytes. They did not want them, but as they could not help it, they tried to interpret these rules with a view to scare them away. The Parsis can do the like, if as it seems they also do not want proselytes. They cannot in the face of their religion, its theory and precepts as given in the Avesta, its practice as seen in the history of the heyday of their race, refuse to receive proselytes. If they did this they would be false to their faith. But they can, like the Jews demand obligations from those who want to come into their religion which these new comers must satisfy; and if they do not satisfy these they must be unscrupulously rejected. Let these obligations and duties be stringent in their case—we can demand higher things from them than from those already within the pale—and let us reject without fear or favour those who do not come up to the mark. Let a Committee settle these, and we shall have a fair solution of this vexed question.

We purpose to give here the materials for forming a judgment on the attitude of the Jews towards proselytes and their practice in receiving them. We have cited here the best authorities on this subject, German and English, Ewald, Schurer, Keil, Robertson, Smith, and others. First we give a rather long extract from Professor Ewald, which will, however, be found eminently interesting coming as it does from that learned German historian of Israel. Ewald's *Geschichte der Israel* in eight volumes is an epochmaking work acknowledged as an authority everywhere. It throws new light on the many dark points in the history of that very interesting people who, in spite of their small numbers, have played so large a part in the spiritual history of the world and bore within it the leaven that gave rise to Christianity and brought about the moral regeneration of a large part of the human race.

"Inasmuch as the Judeans, therefore, had thus long since come into very various and close contact with the heathen, it might have been expected that their religion would, on account of its intrinsic truth have thereby obtained the complete victory

over heathenism, and that the heathen would have chosen to adopt it in great numbers. For though heathenism continued to be the religion of the empires of the world, it is involved in its very nature that the further it is developed the more it loses all higher truth; and at this time it had already everywhere lost that truth, at least in the countries of the more civilised world whether under Roman rule or not, and perpetuated its existence more by the sluggish inertness of long habit and by the charm of the language of its poets, orators, and philosophers, in which little anxiety was shown for the well-being of the people, than by its intrinsic power and living reality. Heathenism had everywhere, but particularly where Greek and Roman culture predominated, long been ripe for its complete overthrow, and even itself unconsciously longed for a transition into a better condition. Consequently it often felt prophetically that even in the fundamentally different religion of the Judeans there might perhaps be something better than itself mysteriously hidden; and it often assumed towards Judeanism, as has been seen in the course of this work, an attitude of gloomy respect, or at all events of sufferance and toleration. The general doctrines of this religion had long been sufficiently well known to the heathen; partly by the Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, and by so many other books which had been prepared and circulated by the Judeans for the very purpose that their religion might be recommended to the heathen in most various, and, if possible, most attractive forms; and, further, by actual and more or less learned, oral instruction, which so many heathens often sought for with great eagerness; facts which we have described at length in the two previous volumes. In the Hellenistic literature there had been gradually more and more perfectly developed during the last three hundred years an entirely new hybrid class of writings, which formed a ready means of communication between the people of the ancient true religion and the heathen. This class of literature grew gradually more and more abundant and various, the assiduity and skill displayed in its production increasingly great, and in our period showed no decline. The effect it produced upon many heathen was also obviously increasingly powerful. Moreover, the number of the Judeans who



were settled amongst the heathen and stood thus in many ways in closer relations to them, had been constantly on the increase in the all-absorbing Roman Empire, partly on account of the blessing of indefatigable energy and activity, which is the natural effect of all true religion and was still perpetuated in this nation, and partly because the Roman Empire presented in its wide and tranquil dominions such a large and convenient field for trade and business of all kinds. Besides, it cannot be denied that long since, the tendency of the times, had been in favour of callings for which the Judeans were adapted by their learning and other mental qualities, and callings which could be used to the disadvantage of the heathen. Inasmuch as this tendency could almost everywhere in the vast countries of the Roman Empire be gratified easily, the number of the Judeans that permanently established themselves in them had hitherto always been on the increase. It follows accordingly, as a matter of course, that very many Judean scholars resided amongst the heathen.

However, substantially this state of things had now existed for upwards of three centuries, and yet no general conversion of the heathen was found to take place. Just, therefore, as if it had been felt in the hearts of the representatives of the Hagiocracy that at last, time was pressing, and that without a greater accession of the heathen Israel itself could not longer exist with honour and influence in the world, actual missions had recently been instituted in Jerusalem, which extended their operations into all parts of the better known world; and after the rise of Christianity a fresh and increased activity must, from motives of rivalry, have been exhibited by these. Apostles educated especially for this purpose, and supplied with credentials or even with introductions from the Hagiocracy in Jerusalem, went forth into the most distant countries, that they might bring over as many heathen as possible to the true religion; but although they converted individuals, and a good deal was made, particularly of one more important instance to be mentioned subsequently, it was nevertheless abundantly shown that neither did this means prove, down to the close of the period before us, to any considerable extent, successful. Whence, therefore, came the real difficulty and the great obstacle which in this matter

also always in the end prevented any progress? We cannot be wrong if we find it in the original limitations of the ancient true religion itself, which were described in the second volume of this work, and again most of all in the Hagiocracy itself, and in the manner in which it now ruled, making it seem as if the entire existence of the true religion in the earth was inseparably connected with it. It was shown above how this religion at the last great crisis of Israel's history, six hundred years before, by retreating into itself and its own antiquity, because it could not attain its own consummation, gradually assumed more and more the stiff and stereotyped form of the Hagiocracy. After the Hagiocracy had now been developed during six centuries to the highest pitch, it appeared most plainly in the illustration before us how little it was adequate to meet the higher designs of true religion generally. All the infinitely sublime truths of this religion are, as it were, hidden under the covering of the Hagiocracy, and as it were fettered under its compulsion; and even though they are most zealously taught, as far as they are still known, they fail to inspire their confessors with any clear insight or true inspiration; whilst, on the other hand, all holiness and importance is more and more ascribed to the most minute observance of the numerous laws laid down by the Hagiocracy, and particularly to various ancient sacred usages. These laws, particularly those regarding circumcision and unclean food, were in themselves alone an almost insuperable obstacle to the spread of the ancient religion, unless they were to be enforced with the sword, as had in fact occurred a century and a half previously in the case of the Idumeans and others. But even if a few individuals from the heathen submitted voluntarily to the severe compulsion of these laws, and even did not shrink from circumcision, in order that they might, by submitting to this rite, as the mysteriously rigorous entrance into the new life of the true religion, be regarded as full members of the Community of God all those who looked deeper could nevertheless perceive that it would remain always impossible in this way to convert very many heathen by purely voluntary means.

Of all the ancient views and usages which the Hagiocracy had now revived and zealously maintained there was none, however, which was more prejudicial to the attempt to convert

the heathen than the idea that the people of the ancient true religion must always remain in relation to all the heathen, that is, all other nations, a separate body to themselves, and the great sanctuary at Jerusalem their one eternal centre. We saw in the second volume of this work how formerly the true religion, when it took living shape by virtue of its own inmost truth, connected itself most closely with the national peculiarities of the one people in which it first arose, simply on account of its own weakness at the time, and, indeed, sought its most powerful and immediate representatives within this nation in the members of an hereditary priesthood; in the third and fourth volumes, how, when it was threatened in the middle period of its history by a thousand new dangers, it had sought to collect its forces most closely and firmly around the Sanctuary at Jerusalem; and in the fifth volume how at the commencement of the last great epoch of the history all this was afresh re-asserted and established, although the true religion was even then urged to break through these its most direct limitations. What had grown up in earlier times only from the necessities of those times themselves had now been made by the Hagiocracy an iron and compulsory law, based upon ancient custom and isolated utterances of the Pentateuch; as if even now the true religion were still unable to exist in the world except under these national limitations. Indeed, with the more vigorous development of the Hagiocracy generally these limitations had been rendered constantly narrower or more numerous. The times when a sanctuary rivalling that at Jerusalem arose in Egypt, with which the Ptolemies could equal the Seleucidæ, and where they could direct their subjects to present sacrifices, had now passed away; the Hagiocracy had, since then attained its greatest strength in Jerusalem, the one Roman rule did not favour such local peculiarities, and the Egyptian Temple was now kept up, according to every indication, only as an institution that had once been founded by rich endowments, and which there was no desire to disturb. All Judeans, wherever they might dwell, were now bound to bring their sacrifices to Jerusalem alone, either personally or by deputies, and to practise the laws of their religion solely according to the directions of the Hagiocracy residing there

Consequently all the Judeans who were dwelling amongst the heathen were the more absolutely *aliens scattered abroad* in proportion as they were zealous in their religion, inasmuch as they had to look upon the Holy Land only with its great Sanctuary as their true country. But in this way all converted heathen were obliged to look to Jerusalem only and its commands, and thus practically giving up their own country, submit themselves to this new nationality which had to be revered as holy. In this lay, necessarily, the most serious obstacle to the spread of the true religion. But the Judeans by birth also preferred on that account to remain; the better their circumstances were, at all events in the wide Roman countries, unsettled amongst the heathen even; they sought accordingly amongst the heathen, wherever it was possible, rather those worldly treasures which were themselves fluctuating; they followed amongst them by preference only trade and arts of gain, as became customary in the Roman Empire, and in the end returned very gladly for a long time, or even for the rest of their days, to Jerusalem, whereby that city especially became now very populous. Only those Judeans who had settled at a much earlier period in the eastern countries beyond the limits of the Roman Empire could now be regarded as more permanently established, although the heads of the Hagiocracy in Jerusalem were jealously vigilant in endeavouring to bind them as closely to their metropolis as possible. Their own true religion, therefore, remained all along a wholly foreign thing amongst heathen nations, and it was precisely their best treasure that the latter were least able to recognise. • •

But even if individual heathen began nevertheless to perceive, or at all events to get an inkling of the glory of the true religion which was in this way disguised, when, forgetting their own nationality, they looked to Jerusalem alone, and voluntarily determined to subject themselves to those rigorous laws, not excepting even circumcision, what did they gain as the reward of so much self-denial and sacrifice? Undoubtedly there was still no lack of individual Judeans of most earnest and pure life; but the life of the majority and of the direct representatives of the Hagiocracy had long been very far from what was to be expected according to the requirements of

the true religion. The heathen had long ago observed this as a general fact : their satire regarding circumcision and pork reached far beyond its gross literal sense ; and the false security, together with the perverse pride which so readily adheres to a Hagiocracy, was little adapted to make its most active agents into such heroes of pure motives and actions as this age required if its proper destination was to be attained. And although the victory of the true religion, as it had now been clearly portrayed for all time in the Sacred Scriptures, over heathenism, generally was by a higher necessity so certain that only, ~~and~~ were, one small thing appeared to be all along wanting that it might be secured, the entire ancient religion, in the form it had assumed in the Hagiocracy, must nevertheless always remain unable to bring forth from its midst this one thing which, small as it seemed, was still all-decisive ; this fact had long been proved.

It is true that during the last centuries a more lenient view was often started regarding the measure of obligation which was to be imposed upon converts from the heathen. In that first happy period of the Ptolemies ; when the most friendly and fruitful understanding between the adherents of both religions appeared about to be established for subsequent times, a Hellenist, under the disguise of the ancient gnostic poet Phocylides, had formally propounded to the heathen, in no less considerate than conciliatory language, as it were only the most necessary and unchanging requirements of all true religion, as if he had desired to construct for them an easy passage to his religion, and to show in detail the basis upon which they, no less than the Judean nation already known to them, might obtain the richest blessing of life. And even at this later period the opinion was expressed by one of those missionaries, at all events with reference to a heathen prince, that circumcision was not absolutely necessary for admission to the full blessing of Judeanism. But such opinions, and the corresponding missionary efforts based upon them, remained very exceptional, and they gradually disappeared in this later period, in proportion as the relations between Judeans and heathens grew increasingly strained, inasmuch as they were wholly incompatible with the inmost life and tendencies of the Hagiocracy

and originated rather in an undefined feeling than in a clear perception of the consequences of such innovations.

Yet, on the other hand, the impulse to spread the true religion amongst the heathen had long been too powerful to admit of its being at this time wholly repressed by such hindrances ; the longing, too, on the part of many heathen to share in some way its blessings had become too sincere and imperative to permit it to continue finally unsatisfied. Consequently, long before this time an entirely new institution had arisen, which, of all the new institutions that sprang into life during the course of the last general epoch of Israel's history and that belonged purely to its pre-Christian period, became beyond dispute the noblest and the most consistent. This is the institution of at least a partial admission of any heathen seeking salvation to all Israel's sanctuaries.

— Immediately after the first restoration of Jerusalem from its ruins these sanctuaries had been of two wholly different classes. From the time that sacrifices could be offered only in the great Sanctuary at Jerusalem, smaller temples elsewhere became a general necessity in the case of a living religion, temples in which that sacrifice which was of all others the smallest in appearance, though it was essentially the greatest, was offered, the sacrifice of the Sabbath and of the prayers of the community of the locality that were heard on that day. A simple *house of prayer* (*proseuche*) of this kind could easily be erected anywhere, might according to circumstances, be of a more or less permanent structure, simple or more elaborate and ornamental, but might in no case contain an altar, which had to be confined to the one great Sanctuary in Jerusalem. A favourite site was near a flowing stream, in which the hands could be washed before prayer. In localities where a community of some size existed, a prayer house of this kind could easily be called a synagogue, and take the form of the magnificent building ; in that case not only was the Law expounded and prophetic passages read on the Sabbath in addition to the prayers, but addresses, based on a passage of the Law by the Prophets, were delivered, sometimes by a succession of speakers. A good copy of the Scriptures, a special pulpit or seat for the speaker, and seats for the congregation were parts of the necessary

furniture of a house of this kind. And though houses of this nature were always regarded as sacred on account of the public prayers which were held in them, this was only in a very general sense, and they were by no means sacred in the same sense as the Temple in Jerusalem. Of such houses of prayer many arose formerly amongst the exiles after the destruction of the Temple; after its restoration also the whole land was filled with them in consequence of the revival of zeal for the ancient true religion; and they soon received new importance as the centres of the communities dispersed through the Greek and Roman empires, in proportion as the legal privileges which were granted to the communities were extensive. The heads of the communities naturally administered the civil rights granted to each community, appointed umpires in case of differences amongst their members, inflicted minor punishments upon their own people, and liked to appropriate to themselves once more as many rights as they could. But in consequence of the constant and extremely busy intercourse of the communities of the Diaspora with Jerusalem, and inasmuch as many members of the ancient nation often returned with their families to live in retirement in Jerusalem, several synagogues for the foreign countries had arisen in this one city alone, synagogues in which the Roman, or the Cyrenean, or other foreign Judeans chiefly assembled. Thus at the time before us hundreds of sanctuaries without altars had arisen within and without the Holy Land in addition to the one great Sanctuary, which was in sole possession of the altar and the sacrifices of the altar, and with which the seat of Hagiocracy was exclusively connected. Priests by birth were not necessary for the superintendence of the prayer and other exercises of these places, which were appropriately called synagogues, while in the chief Sanctuary they were indispensable. And, in fact, the latter alone continued to be called in ordinary language, the Sanctuary, inasmuch as the former were regarded only as indispensable places of preparation for the higher offerings and mysteries and of the preliminary exercises for the Learned School of Jerusalem. Whether they had not really become already something more than this, could only be shown by great unforeseen events; and the difficulties in the case of the Judeans in Egypt above referred

to showed that there was a determination to preserve them from desecration.

However, it was as by a higher necessity, which, little as it was then heeded, became at last of growing moment, that at the very beginning of the last general epoch of Israel's history the heathen had to be admitted at least partially to both these exceedingly different classes of sanctuaries, a fact which might plainly have shown the great truth that this religion, even as early as the destruction of the first Temple, had laid upon it the duty to pass to the heathen also. Since foreign kings ruled over Israel, it became an immediate necessity with the foundation of the new Temple to present sacrifices for them too.; and there arose a third or outer-most Temple-court, where such sacrifices were presented for the heathen kings, and where every heathen could have sacrifices offered for him. By the very act of presenting prayers and sacrifices for the heathen ruler the ancient religion overstepped its primary limits; and if a distinguished heathen sought to have sacrifices presented for him, he thereby really acknowledged this religion to a certain degree, although it was in such cases only allowable to present the whole burnt-offering, as that of the most general nature. These sacrifices continued to be still allowable, and those of a voluntary nature amongst them were at times greatly increased in number; and it created general surprise when, at the beginning of the last great war, it was determined to present no more sacrifices in the Temple for the heathen. But in the case of both the great Sanctuary and the smaller ones, after the return from the Captivity, heathen were gladly admitted simply as auditors desirous to be taught, inasmuch as more intimate intercourse with them had become customary in the Captivity; their zeal as *God-fearing* and *devout* persons was witnessed with delight, and they were also probably regarded as a third or lowest class of confessors of the true religion, after the priests, (and Levites) and the "people of Jahveh" in the strict sense. In the Holy Land itself, it is true, the relations between Judeans and heathens were soon once more so much less friendly that only a few individual heathens joined the synagogues.



But the Judean synagogues were in these later times the more widely opened in Greek and Roman countries to all studious heathen, so that a separate class of such *devout heathen*, or semi-Judeans, was formed. The Hagiocracy itself facilitated this partial admission of heathen in their own countries, occupied itself with new laws for the fresh class to be formed, endeavoured, from a proper perception of the importance of this inclination on the part of many heathen to bring them into the most salutary relation, and at the same time took care above all things not to forget its own objects. But if it was sought to establish this relation by means of the Pentateuch, the only laws available for this purpose were those regarding the partial citizens, or, other vassals of other nationality—that is, the *Proselytes*. It is true those laws presupposed that Israel was a nation with its own independent government, which was now no longer the fact; but as they extended the protection of Israel to all heathen who desired to submit to the necessary conditions of dwelling with them, so it was supposed that heathen could now be admitted under this name of Proselytes (*To comers*) into a closer association with the communities if they kept, at least, the most general commandments of the true religion. Inasmuch, therefore, as they could be regarded as preparatory disciples for a subsequent full entrance into the true religion, it was preferred to select the commandments to be imposed on them as far as possible from the laws of the Pentateuch, belonging to pre-Mosaic times; and, since the favourite habit of the schools at the time was to reduce everything to the number seven, the following conditions were made: (1), avoidance of idolatry; (2), of blasphemy of the true God; (3), of shedding and eating of blood; (4), of eating things strangled; (5), of fornication; (6) of stealing; (7), acknowledgment of the court of justice. They were the laws which were then called the *commands of Noah*, as being mainly based upon Genesis ix: 1—17. All those who pledged themselves to obey them were regarded as partial members of the communities, were entitled to attend the religious services regularly, and were by preference greeted as *devout* or *God-fearing* persons, and were probably generally called by these names in ordinary life. But afterwards the endeavour was

made to lead them by degrees to further stages ; at first, perhaps, to the observance of all the regulations regarding food, and finally to circumcision. It was only those who had been circumcised who were addressed as *righteous*, they being supposed to be righteous before God, as having observed all the divine laws and institutions. Still it was found that it was women rather than men who made up their minds even to the first stage of conversion." (Ewald, *History of Israel* Vol. vii. *The Apostolic Age*, pp. 301-311.)

Having seen what Professor Ewald has to say on the reciprocal influence of Judaism and Heathenism in the history of Israel, the religious hold which Jewish culture had over enlightened heathens, the proselytes of various degrees who came into that religion in consequence and the attitude of the latter towards them, we shall now proceed to give the views of another distinguished German historian and theologian on the subject. This is Schurer, the learned professor of theology in the University of Giessen in Germany, who has written on the history of the Jews. While Ewald, who died in 1875, wrote on the entire history of Israel down to its extinction as a nation, Schurer has taken the last period only and given us a special history of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus. This he accomplished a few years ago with great erudition and judgment in five volumes; and his work is considered as a standard work on the period, and was translated into French, English, and other languages soon after its publication. Especially interesting is the part he devotes to the influence of Hellenic thought and culture on the Jews, and to Philo, the Platonising Jew, of whose strange mixture of philosophy and mysticism he gives a masterly account.

The Jews always insisted on circumcision as the one indispensable condition of conversion without which they never allowed the full privilege and status of a Jew to a new-comer. Schurer as well as others say that they had also another rite, that of baptism of the proselytes. He thinks that it is different from the baptism which afterwards became a sign of initiation into Christianity. It was a bath or ablution which was symbolical of the moral purification which the proselyte underwent. The Parsis have a similar ceremony, the *nan* ceremony,

which is also a washing, a purification from physical contamination as well as from moral sin. We have no circumcision, hence one of the most deterrent obligations which scared away so many proselytes from the Jews, is wanting among us. But there is the ablution or bath ceremony among us, and let this be made one of the conditions. Whether this, in one of the strictest forms, the Bareshnum ceremony, should be made obligatory may be discussed hereafter. We proceed to cite from Schurer.

"It would appear, according to the Talmud, that on the occasion of admitting proselytes strictly so called into the Jewish communion three things were necessary: (1) Circumcision; (2) baptism, *i.e.*, a bath with a view to Levitical purification; and (3) a sacrifice (literally, a gracious acceptance of blood). In the case of women only the last two were required. After the destruction of the temple, as a matter of course the sacrifice was discontinued also. In the Mishna all three are presupposed as being already of long standing; nay, for Rabbinical Judaism they are so much matters of course that, even apart from any explicit testimony, we should have had to assume that they were already currently practised in the time of Christ. For as no Jew could be admitted into fellowship with Israel except through circumcision, so it was quite as much a matter of course that a Gentile, who as such was unclean, seeing that he was not in the habit of observing the regulations with regard to Levitical purity, should be required, on entering into such fellowship, to take the bath of Levitical purification. But similarly, a Gentile as such was also 'in need of atonement,' and continued to be so 'until blood was sprinkled for him.'

"The *obligations and rights of the proselytes* have been defined with great minuteness and detail by the Jewish doctors. Speaking generally it was regarded, according to Orthodox Pharisaic views, as a simple matter of course that they should *observe the whole Law* (Gal. v. 3), and so also in particular with regard to the Sacred tribute. But the doctors have here taxed their ingenuity in the way of carefully laying down certain limitations, especially in regard to the *terminus a quo* at which the obligation comes to be in force. Only those

portions of the proselyte's earnings were liable for tribute which fell under the category of liability after his conversion. Brothers who were born previous to their mother's conversion were not subject to the law regarding levirate marriage. Then maidens who were born before their mother's conversion were not to be bound by the law given in Deut. xxii. 13-21. This latter regulation may of itself serve to show how, along with the limitation of obligations, there was also at the same time a limitation of rights. Then, again, it was only such female proselytes as were less than three years and a day old at the time of the mother's conversion that, with respect to numerous matrimonial rights, were on a footing of equality with native Jewish woman. Further, female proselytes were on no account to be at liberty to contract marriage with priests, nor were the daughters of proselytes to be allowed to do so except in those instances in which one of the parents happened to be an Israelite by birth, in which case the privilege extended to the tenth generation. On the other hand, proselyte women might marry a person that had been emasculated or mutilated, a thing which, according to Deut. xxiii. 2, native Jewesses were debarred from doing. Then the legal enactment to the effect that, if anyone through carelessness happened to strike a woman in such a way as to cause abortion he was to give compensation, did not apply to the case of proselyte women. But, on the other hand, the law with reference to the drinking of the jealousy water (Num. vii. sqq) applied to female proselytes as well. It is precisely the care with which those restrictions have been framed that is so well calculated to show that *in regard to obligations and rights proselytes were regarded as being in all essential respects on an equality with native Israelites.* At the same time the gulf that lay between a born Gentile and a genuine descendant of Abraham could never be bridged over. A proselyte was never allowed to call the fathers of Israel 'his' fathers, while, in the order of rank in the theocracy, a proselyte occupies a lower place even than a nathin. Although with characteristic humaneness the Jewish law appealing to Ex. xxii. 20, forbids anyone ever to be so unkind as to remind the son of a proselyte of the past ways of his fathers, still, on the whole proselytes were never held in the same estimation as

native Jews. What Rabbi Judar presupposes with respect to the proselytes in Rekem, that they must have been remiss in the observance of the law, probably represented, and that not altogether without reason, the average opinion held regarding them, and accordingly there are frequent complaints about them in the Talmud. According to the Deuteronomic legislation there were two nations, Ammonites and the Moabites that were never admitted into communion with Israel, no, not even in the tenth generation (Deut. xxiii. 4). It is said that *à propos* of this enactment, the question was once debated in the time of Gamaliel II., whether an Ammonitish proselyte who might wish to join the communion of the Jews should be allowed to do so. Gamaliel decided in the negative, while Rabbi Joshua took the affirmative view on the ground that the Ammonites had long ceased to exist. The view of Rabbi Joshua was homologated by the learned doctors." (Schurer, *History of the Jewish People*, Division II, Vol. II, pp. 297-325.)

Keil, from whom we proceed to quote now, is another of those learned German professors whose researches have elucidated the history and antiquities of Biblical times. He has written a valuable work on Biblical Archæology in which the customs, manners, chronology, geography, etc., of the Bible are treated with great care and erudition. We give an extract from this work on the subject of proselytes.

"There were at all times strangers (1 Chron. xxii. 2, Septuagint) living in Israel to whom the Mosaic Law, it is true, did not concede the rights of citizenship, but to whom, however, it granted toleration and several privileges of one kind and another, in return for which it obliged them to comply with certain of the religious enactments prescribed to Israel. They were required, for example, not to blaspheme the name of Jehovah (Lev. xxiv. 16), not to indulge in idolatrous worship (Lev. xx. 2), not to commit acts of indecency (Lev. xviii. 26), not to do any work on the sabbath (Ex. xx. 10), not to eat leavened bread during the celebration of the Passover (Ex. xii. 19), not to eat blood or the flesh of animals that had died a natural death or had been torn by beasts (Lev. xvii. 10, 15). But should such strangers be desirous of enjoying the full rights of citizenship the law sanctioned their admission among the

people of the Lord on condition that they became circumcised. By accepting circumcision they bound themselves to observe the whole law, in return for which they were allowed to participate to the full in the privileges and blessings of the people of the covenant (Rom. ix. 4), with whom in virtue of this rite, they were now incorporated (Ex. xii. 48). The number of those strangers was considerably augmented when Israel developed into a powerful state and began to have political relations and commercial intercourse with neighbouring nations. Still more did their numbers increase at a later period, when Israel lost its independence and was subjected to the sway of heathen powers, whose yoke it was never able to shake off except for a somewhat limited period. In these circumstances, in which there was no longer any bond of national unity, the religious fellowship which the law, with its ceremonial regulations, had created among the people, developed into an inward bond of union that every day became only more firmly knit. And although, at the same time, the religious life itself came more and more to be imprisoned in the stiff formalism of Pharisaic piety and sanctimony, still the influence of the spirit that had animated the law and the prophets retained a power by which it not only successfully resisted the corrupting effect of the religions of an effete heathenism that were falling to pieces from natural decay, but also attracted to it a considerable number of Gentiles, and disposed them to seek in the religion of the Jews that salvation which their own gods and idolatrous worships were incapable of offering them. Hence it is that, in our Lord's time, we find such large numbers of *sebomenoi* (Acts x. 2 ; xiii. 50 ; xvi. 14, etc.) or *proselytoi* (Acts ii. 10 ; vi. 5) or *sebomenoi proselytoi* (Acts xiii. 43), the majority of whom, it is true, only went the length of simply joining in the worship of the synagogues, although many of them also formally adopted the Mosaic religion by becoming circumcised. Consequently the Talmud and the Rabbinical writers distinguish two classes of proselytes: *proselytes of the gate*, i.e., Gentile strangers who, while living among the Israelites or Jews, had bound themselves to observe the seven Noachian precepts; and the *proselytes of righteousness* or proselytes of the covenant who, having been formally admitted to participation in the theocratic cove-

nant, professed their adherence to all the doctrines and precepts of the Mosaic law. According to the teaching of the Rabbinical writers, there were three things that were required of males before they could be so admitted : circumcision—baptism—and a sacrifice—while the qualification for females was baptism and sacrifice. The first of those requirements is based upon the law itself, in so far as it concedes to strangers the right to take part in the Passover festival only on condition of their being circumcised (Ex. xii. 48). As for the offering of the sacrifice again, the necessity for which the Rabbinical writers have founded upon Ex. xxiv. 5, it was regarded as a matter of course, seeing that even a native Israelite could not appear before Jehovah without a sacrifice. But neither do the Old and New Testament scriptures, nor Josephus, Philo, and the older Targumists, know anything whatever of baptism as an independent and indispensable qualification for admission to Judaism. The first time that it is plainly mentioned is in the Babylonian Gemara ; while it would seem not to have been introduced as a rite of initiation properly so-called, and in lieu of the sacrifice that had now been discontinued, till after the entire cessation of the sacrificial worship in the third century. It was probably an adaptation of an act of ablution or bathing with water, such as we may well suppose would in every age accompany the circumcising of a Gentile, seeing that the Mosaic law forbade the unclean to take part in any religious observance till they had been cleaned by bathing in water, Ex. xix. p. " (Keil, *Biblical Archaeology*, translated from the German, Vol. I, 425—427.)

Dean Milman, the eloquent historian of Christianity, puts tersely in a few sentences the attitude of the Jewish people towards proselytes. "The more rigid Jews looked with jealousy even on the circumcised proselytes ; the terms of admission were made as difficult and repulsive as possible ; on the imperfect (*i.e.*, the uncircumcised proselytes of the Gate) they looked with still greater suspicion, and were rather jealous of communicating their exclusive privileges, than eager to extend the influence of their opinion. But the more liberal must have acted on different principles, they must have encouraged the advance of incipient proselytes ; the synagogues were open

throughout the Roman Empire and many who like Horace 'went to scoff' may have 'remained to pray.'" (*History of Christianity* Vol. I, p 382. Ed. 1863.) Prof. Robertson Smith, a great Oriental scholar and one of the best Biblical historical critics, whose untimely death was a great loss to Biblical scholarship of the advanced and enlightened type, speaks of "*obitardicta* which discriminate unfavourably between the Jew and the proselyte and chiefly serve to illustrate the strong animus which a large section of post-Christian Jews displayed against proselytism and proselytes." (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. III, column 3905, 1903.) The attitude of the Parsis at the present day towards proselytes is similar. They, or at least a large section of them, too display a strong animus against proselytism and proselytes. This is not what should be, and is not worthy of a community that has been said to be in the forefront of reform and progress and to have emancipated itself from narrow prejudices. But the present controversy, which has roused some of the least desirable passions of the community, shows that there is still room for much improvement in the future.

The present division among the Parsis on this question of proselytism reminds us of a similar division among the Jews, into what has become famous in the history of their religion as the schools of Hillel and Shammai. Hillel was known for the weakness of his conduct and generosity of his views, in which he was followed by the Scribes. Shammai was of a different character. He was a much stricter man, true to traditional notions, afraid of too much latitude. On this question of proselytism the Jews were divided just like the Parsis to-day. "Shammai's school in the spirit of its founder zealously advocates separation from the heathen; while the unwillingness of the Hillelites reminds us of their leader's inclination to open wide the door to Judaism". In these words the great Dutch theologian, Kuenen, the best authority on the religion of Israel, sums up the attitude of the two great parties towards newcomers into their religion (Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, Vol. III, p. 247). In the end, the school of Shammai gained the upper hand and they seem to retain it to the present day. It of course could not shut the door openly and violently in the face of proselytes, as some of the Parsis to-day go the



length of doing in teeth of their religious precepts. No, they had too great a respect for their faith to do this. But they interpreted the rules about receiving proselytes with great rigour and tried to discourage them.

Josephus, the ancient historian of the Jews, narrates the story of the conversion to the Jewish faith of Izates, the prince of Adiabene, a tributary of Artabanus the Parthian King, who seems to have fallen away probably from the Zoroastrian creed. (*Antiquities of the Jews*, xx. 2—10.) We say probably, because it is not stated to what religion he originally belonged; but from the fact that his mother was his father's sister—by "Khetiodeth" marriage in vogue amongst the ancient Persians—and from his name, Izates or Yazd, we infer that he must have been a Zoroastrian. (cf. Rawlinson, *Sixth Oriental Monarchy*, p. 246, 62.) Izates wished to openly acknowledge his new creed, but his mother, Helena, who had also embraced the Jewish faith, for political reasons, told him to keep his conversion secret, and he refused to be circumcised. Ananias, a Jew who seems to be of the school of Hillel, approved of this advice and said that "the king could honour God without circumcision if he had firmly resolved zealously to observe the Jewish ordinance: this was more important than circumcision." But another Jew, Eleanor of Galilee, pointed out that he ought to show his respect for the Mosaic laws first of all by observing their precepts and be circumcised. Izates followed this advice and was circumcised and openly professed the Jewish faith.

"The difference of opinion," remarks Kuenen, "between Ananias and Eleanor is most remarkable. Both are convinced that the Jewish religion is destined and adapted to spread and to make conquests. But with respect to the manner in which this is to take place, their ideas diverge. Ananias, whom we can regard as like-minded with Hillel, proves himself disposed to make concessions, and even deems circumcision not indispensable if only the Law be observed in the main; Eleanor, a disciple in this respect of Shammai, insists upon unconditional submission to all the legal precepts. This in fact was the great problem upon the solution of which the future of Judaism depended. So long as Eleanor's maxim was followed—and we already know that in the end it retained

the upper hand at Jerusalem, by force of circumstances—the Jewish religion could make but few proselytes. Dispensations from that rule such as that granted by Ananias could, it is true, remove a solitary obstacle, but were insufficient in the long run, even in the estimation of those to whom they were given. To become a world-religion it was necessary that Judaism should not merely conceal or renounce its national character for a time, but should lay it aside altogether.” (Kuenen, *loc. cit.* Vol. III, p. 276.) Zoroastrianism is also a world-religion and it once overspread almost the whole known world; witness the Behistun inscription of Darius where the most prosperous countries of the world are mentioned as having received the religion of Ahura Mazda. But at the present day its degenerate sons want to confine it not merely within a nation but within the narrowest tribal limits, into which no one can enter except by birth! Verily it suffers for its sins in the past even as Judaism does! Let it not be supposed that because we have drawn this parallel and laid this example of one of the most exclusive religions before our community, we by any means heartily approve of it. It is only as a *modus vivendi* that we suggest it. Our community is not yet ripe enough it seems for a broad view of the question. The time may come, nay, will come, when the noble faith that is now in our keeping will revive its ancient glories and when proselytes to it will be welcomed. Otherwise what is the use of keeping up a faith, without hope and without promise. “Every religion that believes in itself will feel impelled to propagate its creed; the followers of a doctrine to whom it is indifferent whether the number of those who share it with them increases or decreases have no true faith.” (Professor Workman in McClintock and Strong, *Biblical and Theological Cyclopædia*, Vol. VIII., p. 662.) But till that time comes when proselytes will be welcomed, let us at least tolerate them; and not prove false to our faith; and for a way out of the *impasse* in which we now are, we have suggested the present course. It is no use forcing any notion, however liberal and enlightened, on a community. But it is sadly disappointing that after a hundred years and more of British Rule, and at the beginning of the twentieth century, we should be no better than we are found by this controversy to be, in spite of so much

talk about our progress and our emancipation from narrow views.

As a contribution towards the materials for forming a judgment we give what Professor Chamberlain Porter, Professor of Biblical Theology in the celebrated Yale University of the United States, has written on the subject of proselytes. It is an article which he has contributed to one of those two grand encyclopædic dictionaries of Biblical matters, which have been published simultaneously during the last five years. Both are immense undertakings of four thousand pages each, worthily brought to a close, to which nearly all the leading scholars and theologians of Great Britain, America, and Germany have contributed articles which are really concise treatises. From the one, the *Encyclopædia Biblica* edited by Professor Cheyne of Oxford, who will be remembered as having thrown new light on the doctrine of Immortality as it is found in the *Avastā* and in the Psalms, in his *Bampton Lectures* and in various contributions to the *Expositor*, we have already quoted a part of the article by Professor Robertson Smith. From the other, the *Dictionary of the Bible* edited by Professor Hastings of Glasgow, we now proceed to quote from the article above indicated, those parts which treat concisely of the duties and rights of proselytes, and a sketch of the history of proselytism. "The Duties and Rights of Proselytes, *i.e.*, of circumcised foreigners, were ideally the same as those of circumcised Jews (Ex. xii). Philo gives abundant evidence that a Greek became a proselyte only by a violent and absolute break with his past life and associations. So Tacitus (Hist. v. 5) says that proselytes learn to despise the gods, cut off the father land, and hold parents, children, brothers in contempt. The story of Izates is not in conflict with this. His first Jewish adviser dissuaded him from circumcision, telling him that he could worship the deity without it. But this only meant that it was better for him to remain a heathen and not to become a Jew. The second adviser encouraged him to become a proselyte. If circumcision was the decisive step in the case of all male converts there seems no longer room for serious question that a bath of purification must have followed, even though early mention of such *proselyte baptism* is not found. The law (Lev. xi. 15, Num.

xix.) prescribed such baths in all cases of impurity, and no one who came with the deep impurity of a heathen life behind him could have entered the Jewish community without such cleansing. As long as the Temple stood, an offering made a third (in case of women a second) rite in connection with the proselyte's reception. According to Deut. xxiii full entrance into the assembly of the Lord was denied entirely to eunuchs (but see p. 56), bastards, Ammonites, and Moabites; while admittance was granted to children of the third generation in the case of the Edomite and the Egyptian. It is not clear how far this principle may have been applied in latter times, or just what restrictions it implied. Certainly the Passover could be observed after circumcision (Ex. xii). Various practical limitations of the rights of proselytes (in respect to marriage, etc.) which later Rabbis discuss, probably belong to the intensified racial feeling which followed the rise of Christianity and the fall of Jerusalem. The proselyte seems to have been feared rather than sought or welcomed by the Judaism of the Talmud. The proselyte would, of course, have needed *Instruction*, both before and after his admission to the Jewish community. One might be tempted to find evidence of early catechetical instruction in such passages as Ps. xv, xxiv, xxxiv. Is. xxxiii, etc.

*The History of Jewish Proselytism* cannot even be sketched within the limits of this article. Although the prophets furnished the universal faith which must underlie missionary effort, and though Judaism cherished the hope that it would be recognized by all nations, yet it is only among the Jews of the Greek Dispersion that anything like a propaganda can be found. According to the ruling view, which Pharisaism represented, the conversion of the heathen was to be accomplished by God rather than by man. It belongs to eschatology. The book of Jonah uncovers and rebukes the deep-seated reluctance of Judaism to go to the heathen with a message for their salvation. In the Dispersion outward and inward conditions favoured a more open and generous attitude. Jews could not but be influenced by the breadth of Greek thought, and Greeks were drawn by the mere spectacle of a people who held a monotheistic faith and led a moral life. The Hellenistic-Jewish literature was no doubt in part aimed at heathen readers, and

meant to persuade them of the falsity of polytheism and idolatry and the truth of the sacred books, the laws, and the doctrines of Judaism. The synagogues were open to foreigners, and were the most effective agency in the propagation of Judaism (cf. Ac. xv fulfilling v.) Whether the temple at Leontopolis had a similar effect it is hard to say (cf. Is. xix). It is extremely difficult to measure the results of such efforts. The number of those who were more or less influenced by Judaism was no doubt very great. The number of circumcised proselytes may have been relatively small, but on the other hand it may have helped to fill out the great multitude of Jews who were to be found in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy. In Palestinian Judaism it is hard to find evidence in the time of Christ of the zeal of which Deut. xxiii speaks. There is evidence of large accessions to the Jewish community during the latter part of the Persian and the beginning of the Greek periods or result perhaps of the impulses of which Is. xl. Ruth, Jonah, and such Psalms as xxii, xlviii, lxxv-lxxvii, lxxxiii are expressions, which the work of Ezra and Nehemiah only temporarily repressed. The use of Aramaic, the language of neighbouring peoples, is a fact worthy of consideration in this connexion. A reaction and a closing of doors came with the reign of Antiochus IV, and the rise of the Pharisaic party. The Maccabaean princes revived the old method of proselytising by force. So John Hyrcanus, having conquered Idumæa, permitted the inhabitants to remain in the land if they would be circumcised and adopt the laws and customs of the Jews. The similar forcible conversion of the Ituræans by Aristobulus is regarded by Schurer as referring to Galilee. At the beginning of the Maccabaean wars this had still been a heathen country, with a few scattered communities of Jews in it, who could be transferred bodily to Judæa (1 Mac. v). The earliest references to these Jewish converts in Galilee are found in 2 Chr. xxx (cf. 13, 2 Chr. xv). It is hardly to be doubted that the proper Judaizing of Galilee is essentially the work of Aristobulus (B. C. 104-105). The strong Jewish community in Rome is plausibly traced to Numenius and his embassy (1 Mac. xiv-xv). But of a proselytising work by Pharisees their literature gives us little information. The story of Helena and Izates remains isolated.

Saul may be cited as a Pharisee who was zealous for the extension of his religion, but his effort was not to make converts from heathenism, but to prevent Christians from converting Jews. St. Paul's Jewish Christian adversaries were proselytisers (Gal. i, iii, v, etc.), and perhaps reveal the quality in Pharisaism which Matt : xxiii condemns. The Pharisaic ideal remained one of separation. Such propaganda as they attempted seems to have aimed at the realization of the hope that no uncircumcised alien should render Israel and its land and temple unclean. It does not reflect the surprising generosity of Deut. xxiii; Is. xix. ; Zec. ix. ; towards Israel's traditional foes. The expectation of a future missionary era is rare. Proselytism was a sort of conquest or subjugation, for the benefit of the conquerors, not of the conquered, and it is fair to say that the Jewish proselyte did not form a link between the Jews and the Gentiles, but emphasised and widened the difference. Nor did the proselyte prepare the way for Christianity. He may well have been the worst of St. Paul's enemies, while the *σεβόμενος* who did not count as a Jew at all, was the first of his converts. Josephus gives an interesting illustration of the truth that it was the narrow Jews who insisted on proselytism, while his own more liberal temper was satisfied that everyone would worship God according to his preference. Only a few could recognise that the worship of one God and the practice of righteousness (Ac. x) were more important than the observance of legal rites beginning with circumcision, which were essentially tribal in character. In the common judgment these Greeks were dogs who ate the crumbs that fell from their master's table, and only a prophet could see in them a greater faith than Israel's. But in reality the best influence of Judaism is to be found in that large class of heathen to whom it taught the worship of one God and the pursuit of virtue, and not in the class of actual converts." (*Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. Hastings, Vol. IV., p. 136, 1903.)

After giving the historical sketch of proselytism by Professor Porter, we now quote the ceremonies of the admission of proselytes, from the Biblical and Theological and Ecclesiastical Cyclopædia edited by Dr. McClinstock and Dr. Strong. This is a very voluminous and valuable work published in America and

was completed, in twelve volumes, about ten years ago. It embodies all the valuable matter in the excellent earlier Biblical dictionaries of Dr. Kitto and Sir William Smith, as well as gives original contributions by the indigenous scholars of America. It is allowed even in England to be an important work, and is the most extensive Biblical dictionary—occupying more than twelve thousand pages of “close type in double columns—in existence in the English language.

Ceremonies of Admission—here all seems at first clear and definite enough. The proselyte was first catechised as to his motives (Maimonides, *at sup.*). If these were satisfactory, he was first instructed as to the divine protection of the Jewish people, and then circumcised. In the case of a convert already circumcised (a Midianite, *e.g.*, or an Egyptian), it was still necessary to draw a few drops of “the blood of the covenant” (Gew. Bal. Shabb. f. 135*a*). A special prayer was appointed to accompany the act of circumcision. Often the proselyte, took a new name, opening the Hebrew Bible and accepting the first that came (Leyrer, *at sup.*). All this, however, was not enough. The convert was still a “stranger.” His children would be counted as bastards, *i.e.*, aliens. Baptism was required to complete his admission. When the wound caused by circumcision was healed, he was stripped of all his clothes in the presence of the three witnesses who had acted as his teachers, and who now acted as his sponsors, the “fathers” of the proselyte (Ketubh. xi.; Erubh. xv. 1), and led into the tank or pool. As he stood there, up to his neck in water, they repeated the great commandments of the law. These he promised and vowed to keep, and then, with an accompanying benediction, he plunged under the water. To leave one hand-breath of his body unsubmerged would have vitiated the whole rite (Otho., Lex. Rabl. S. V. Baptisms; Reisk. DeBapt. Pros. in Ugolino, vol. xxii). Strange as it seems, this part of the ceremony occupied, in the eyes of the later Rabbis, a co-ordinate place with circumcision. The latter was incomplete without it, for baptism also was of the fathers (Gew. Bal. Jebam. f. 461, 2). One Rabbi appears to have been bold enough to declare baptism to have been sufficient by itself (*ibid*), but for the most part, both were reckoned as alike indispensable. They

carried back the origin of baptism to a remote antiquity finding it in the command of Jacob (Gen. xxxv. 2) and of Moses (Exod. xix. 10). The Targum of the pseudo-Jonathan inserts the word "thou shalt circumcise and *baptise*" in Exod. xii. 44. Even in the Ethiopic version of Matt. xxiii. 15 we find "compass sea and land to *baptise* one proselyte." Language foreshadowing, or caricaturing, a higher truth was used of this baptism. It was a new birth (Jebam. f. 62, 1; 92, 1; Maimonides, Issur, Rich. c. 14; Lightfoot, Harm. of the Gospels, iii. 14; Exerc. on John iii.) The proselyte became a little child. This thought probably had a starting-point in the language of Ps. xxxvii. There also the proselytes of Babylon and Egypt, are registered as "born" in Zion. The new convert received the Holy Spirit (Jebaw. f. 22a, 486). "All natural relationships, as we have seen, were cancelled. The baptism was followed as long as the Temple stood by the offering or *corban*. It consisted, like the offerings after a birth (the analogy apparently being carried on), of two turtle-doves or pigeons (Leo. xii. 18). When the destruction of Jerusalem made the sacrifice impossible, a vow to offer it as soon as the Temple should be rebuilt was substituted. For women-proselytes, there were only baptism and the *corban*, or in later times, baptism by itself. The Galilæan female proselytes were said to have objected to this, as causing barrenness." (McClinstock and Strong, *Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Cyclopædia*, Vol. VIII, p. 661, ed. 1879.)

There is no community so exclusive as the Jewish in the whole world; but the Parsis are showing themselves more exclusive still. Every religion in the world, if it has faith in itself, wants to increase its votaries. The Zoroastrian religion is no exception to this in spite of the bigotry of some at the present day. Its past history is sufficient to belie this bigotry. In its glorious days it was a world-religion rivalling Christianity and several times threatening it with extinction. Islam proved too strong for it and succeeded in driving it before itself everywhere even from its original home in Persia. The Parsi community in India, with an insignificant exception in the land of its birth, now keep it up as a living creed and preserve it from total extinction like the ancient religions of Assyria and



Egypt. They do well under the present circumstances not to be zealous in preaching their religion to others. But the religion has not altered its fundamental character; its sacred books, even in the fragmentary state in which they have come down to us, contain distinct unequivocal precepts for its propagation. We cannot now propagate it by preaching it to others in a missionary spirit; but it does not preclude us from receiving any proselytes that may be willing to come, on the contrary it renders it more obligatory on us to receive them; unfortunately for the dispassionate discussion of the questions our religion is at present bound up with our social system for such a long time that the popular mind cannot conceive of the one without the other. But such fundamental questions touching the principles of religion, are not to be decided by the popular mind. In no community would they be discussed by a miscellaneous committee of men unacquainted with religion, history or philosophy. This is a question essentially for scholars first, and men of the world afterwards. Even of the latter we do not see many in the committee who can discuss and judge fairly and dispassionately. The way in which translations of passages from the Avesta, by scholars, both European and Parsi, are superciliously criticised and set aside as erroneous by persons who are not, and cannot be, in a position to judge of them, is to say the least not creditable to their common sense as even men of the world. It is proverbial that doctors differ, and doctors of theology as much as, or more than, doctors of medicine. But here it is not the case of doctors differing from doctors, but doctors differing from, we are bound to say, quacks. But in spite of all the dust, which is not even learned dust, that has been raised, one thing is quite clear, nay, it is more clear than before as the atmosphere is rendered clearer after a thunderstorm, and the objects are seen better. The precepts of the Parsi religion and its history in Persia not only favour proselytism but enjoin it. It is clear as daylight. It is irrefragably true. None of the attacks on it have been able to shake it even slightly. Of course, the attacks have been none of the strongest, because no scholar has attacked it. Not a single scholar of any repute and with a reputation to lose has been found among the critics.

The only part of the question where the critics have some show of reason on their side is the social. But even here there is a good deal of exaggeration and a great many false fears. The Parsi social system is not to fall helpless before the proselytes, as the walls of Jericho before the blast of the trumpet. It is not to be overrun by foreigners because a single Frenchwoman has entered their pale and married a Parsi. She has like another Helen fired another Troy and set the citadel of Parsi fanaticism and bigotry ablaze. But that is because it is of ignitable material; sometimes there is even spontaneous combustion there. But that fire will be easily quenched. The magazine of society, however, is bombproof; that is safe. It is not ignitable, it is not open to such visible and quick calamity. It can give way only to the slow process of sap and mine. And that process is applied slowly but surely by Parsis themselves; they need not lay the sin at the door of proselytes, who are nowhere. The Parsis themselves have laid the mine and sapped the foundations of their society and they need blame nobody but themselves if the fabric should one day fall over their ears. Already the plaster is falling here and there and everywhere from the walls and ceiling, even the cracks and crevices in the walls are visible to those who have eyes to see the signs. Happy if the true causes are diagnosed in time, and removed before it is too late; and instead of the present false outcry against proselytes, the true hue and cry is raised after the real persons on whose foreheads lies the true guilt.

If the state of Parsi society requires to be safeguarded against proselytes, by all means do it. If the community is afraid of any evil following from their admission, let regulations be made for their entrance. We have shown that the example of the Jewish community may be followed by the Parsis. We have shown how the Parsis like the Jews can fix the obligations of proselytes and impose conditions which will be a test of their sincerity. No religion has benefited by insincere proselytes. And the Parsis have every right to demand proofs of the sincerity of the new-comer. Let certain persons of position in the community be asked to vouch for it by being witnesses, as among the Jews. Let him undergo such

ceremonies of purification as may be decided upon by the community. Let there even be a period of probation, when the new-comer will be on his best behaviour, before his full admission to the faith. Then when he has entered the Zoroastrian faith he does not *ipso facto* possess a right to a passport to Parsi society. The Parsis have a right to mix socially with people they like, and their religion does not enjoin them to do anything against their wishes in this matter. That is purely a social matter, and religion has nothing to do with it. The Parsis do not like proselytes and do not want to mix with them or enter into social relations with them. Well, they can continue in this frame of mind after his conversion as well as before. They can show the cold shoulder with a clean conscience to proselytes just as they do now to their co-religionists whom they do not like. How many Parsis, born and bred, are there who do not come in any contact whatsoever during their whole lives with other Parsis equally born and bred like themselves. Why cannot they do the same with regard to converts. Why should they think that they will have to mix with converts when they do not mix with other Parsis? Therefore there is a middle way out of this difficulty and we have written all this in vain if we have not made it clear. The Parsis need not go directly against the precepts of their religion by not admitting proselytes. And by admitting them they need not necessarily open their social system to them; they can keep it as close and as exclusive as they like, with or without proselytes. Let them make the rules as rigorous as they like at present, so long as the principle of admitting them into the religion be saved. Later times, when we hope more toleration and less social exclusiveness may prevail, will see reason to relax these rules and welcome proselytes. But till then let us not prove false to our faith.

R. P. KARKARIA.

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## Art. IX.—MAURICE MAETERLINCK: AN INTRODUCTION.

OF modern literary forces of at all equal power and value, Maeterlinck is the most difficult to appreciate, to weigh, to analyze and understand. The man's mystery clings about his work: interpenetrates its whole texture, and darts a subtle elusive radiance into the gloomiest penetralia of philosophy and religion. However vehemently you may disagree from Maeterlinck you can scarcely help owning his charm; and much at least of its compelling strength lies in its baffling intangibility. Vaguely the conviction is borne in upon you that you are in the presence of a great, original, earnest, truth-loving, beautiful soul. The quality of his quiet gaiety, his serene appropriation of all that is loveliest in the world and human nature, his loving eagerness to impart his treasures with a lavish hand, is irresistibly impressive. The brilliant and inspiring optimism of his nature is reinforced by the wholesome sanity of the limitations within which it is indulged. The note of joyous confidence of dignified self reliance, never rises too high, never changes into meaningless ecstasy, is never irrationally shrill. The gloomiest, most terrifying thoughts passing through the alembic of this pure fearless mind emerge transformed into sedate and serviceable consolation. Through the veiled and awful shapes whose tremendous shadowy outlines conveyed only a paralyzing menace, and forbade all approach to hope and peace, there begins faintly to define itself in virgin purity some gracious, unexpected and sustaining Truth.

Into the deepest depths, the unilluminated abysses of mortal weakness and mortal fear this man peers with unscaled eyes, and the darkness lifts; a beam of light and comfort shoots up laughingly to meet the soul that is not afraid: to greet across centuries of degradation and horror and superstition, the confident lamp-bearer of the truth. It is this gift of bold unabashed far reaching vision, that insists upon exploring every apparition, formula, phantom, to find what verity, if any,

glorious or horrific, lurks therein, which contributes perhaps more than all his other rich endowments of fancy, imagination, sympathy and love, to the sum of Maeterlinck's power. Generation after generation has fallen on its knees with veiled lowering eyes, trembling and suppliant before the altars of the unknown Gods. Generation after generation has turned to the shallow consolations of sophistry and compromise for a refuge against the crushing insistence of the eternal insoluble problems. Maeterlinck with the free and happy confidence of a loved child sure of its welcome enters the adytum, approaches the imposing divinities in the grim austerity of their ancient honored seclusion, lifts the veil from their faces, and behold, they are lifeless simulacra, and the smile of welcome recognition with which they would have greeted him had they been real, is reserved to be flashed back upon him from the heights of mountains, the depths of oceans, the starry expanse of heaven and the awakened gladness of a thousand human hearts. The profoundest problems do not daunt, still less crush him. Their key is not found yet, but from the lofty standpoint of his catholic outlook upon the phenomena of nature and of man, the lesson to be learnt from them, in its practical application under the necessarily limited condition of human intelligence, is not the lesson of despair but of brave and always aspiring hope. Maeterlinck's work may not possess much value as a systematized philosophy, his conclusions may not satisfy the over-curious and exacting reason, but poor indeed must he be of soul, arid, meagre and strangled in fetters of materialism who does not respond in more or less abundant measure to the supreme beauty, not only in the style, the vesture of his thoughts, but much more of the thoughts themselves; who does not gratefully recognize that in this method of approaching the most perplexing riddles of life and of man's complex mentality, there is a distinctive constructive wholesomeness of extreme value quite independently of results. Maeterlinck's method is the poet's method, as indeed in all his mystic and philosophic writing Maeterlinck is essentially a poet.

His atmosphere is the poet's atmosphere, his materials are the poet's materials, glowing imagination, a confident reliance on intuition, a delicate sense of the melody and harmony of

words and phrases; and above all his medium is the poet's medium, intellectual and spiritual beauty. It is only by a passionate often rapturous absorption of the beauty of the world and all that is therein, that he approaches the consideration of these profounder operations of the soul in its present environment, and that, ultimately his own soul steeped and educated in beauty distils its most precious influence throughout the spheres of thought, and reason and emotion, in a correspondingly catholic and energetic love.

The aesthetic of Maeterlinck is loveliness and the metaphysic of Maeterlinck is Love. In a singularly high degree he has the rare faculty, as Mr. Sutro well observes, of seeing beauty in all things, especially truth; and the rarer faculty still of loving all things, especially life. His contribution to literature is very great: at his best his style approaches perfection but his contribution to high and noble thinking is far greater. When you have communed with him for a space you will feel that whether or not you have learnt any lesson of practical value you have bathed your soul in beauty. However soiled and besmirched, however dragged in the mire, the soul that has submitted to the influence of this poet, seer and thinker comes forth a little cleaner, more erect, with a reviving sense of spiritual dignity, a little truer to its own immortal self.

I have called Maeterlinck a poet, and few indeed I think of those who read his writings will be inclined to deny that although he has chosen prose as his vehicle of expression, not only in substance but very largely in form also, his utterances are truly poetic. It matters very little whether the mould is stereotyped, whether lines run in lengths, whether the ends rhyme. What is certainly indispensable to real poetry is genuine creative thought, illuminative far reaching imagination, a new presentment of some facet at least of very truth. And all these qualities are found in rich profusion throughout Maeterlinck's beautiful work. There is deep insight, high inspiration, an exuberant play of fancy, the highest, the noblest, the daintiest thoughts are appropriately dressed in the most fastidiously chosen and harmoniously modulated phrases. Again and again there flames forth a surprising flash of intuition

linking the wisest wisdom of the past with the unrevealed treasure of the future, and in its sudden broad white light many crooked ways straighten and dark places become plain. Every sentence is delicately wrought and finely finished. The opulence of his artistic and pictorial imagination is chastened by a carefully cultivated moderation, and a severe regard to the exigent decencies of a refined and forcible expression. Here and there the nobler creatures of his mind appear gemmed and diademed in regal pomp and splendour befitting their dignity and the lofty plane on which they move. The passionate and almost idolatrous devotion to beauty imperiously demands the highest attainable beauty in the mode of its presentment. But this tendency is rarely, if ever, allowed to degenerate into mere exuberance and hyperbole : it imparts a fine poetic aroma ; but is tempered by that scrupulous exactitude required by prose when employed for the discussion of profound metaphysical and 'moral problems. Not perhaps always to the extent of imposing the use of a scientific and precise terminology but generally as keeping the mental-vision of the worker conscientiously concentrated on the discernment and faithful expression of what he sees and recognises for himself to be the truth. Few writers on cognate subjects of such obscurity and complexity have attained anything like the same convincing lucidity in combination with so essentially poetic a method. It is not to be supposed that in the treatment of every theme the same degree of adjustment between the play of reason and imagination is maintained. Nor perhaps is it desirable that it should be. In exploring the deeper mysteries, cold reason, however usefully employed in checking and tallying the results is likely to make but a poor guide. In these 'obscure regions it is the imagination the active exponent of the profounder facts underlying all human consciousness, which discovers by means of its inherent power and virtue and attraction to deeply lurking truths, the surest way to unveil and appropriate them. And of such revelations the reason is scarcely competent to judge. Their validity depends upon the degree of certitude with which, being once displayed, they establish themselves among the convictions of the almost inarticulate but extraordinarily critical and tenacious moral and spiritual faculty.

This powerfully suggestive, often convincing explanation of matters which had formerly lurked in dim recesses hardly presenting themselves at all to the ordinary vision; this reading into them new and hidden and deep meanings, which suddenly claim an abiding reality with minds temperamentally the same though less clear sighted, constitutes another element in Maeterlinck's persuasive charm. The incalculable formative efficacy of silence on all the profoundest springs of character, emotion, especially sympathy, has often appeared fugitively on the surface of the wiser thoughts of the world's great thinkers; but nowhere has the topic been handled as Maeterlinck has handled it, with a full understanding of its curious psychology, the poet's intimate grasp of its true kernel, its shy evasive but compelling spiritual beauty. The collective sense of ages has stamped its approval in proverbial form upon the value of silence; speech is silver but silence is golden. Carlyle quoted by Maeterlinck, uttered more than one memorable word on the indispensableness of silence to the full development of strong self-reliant natures. But here as in the general thought of mankind we do not get much beyond a bare fact or two; we seem to see away in the back ground of consciousness shapes without definite outline. We feel instinctively that we might approach them, that perhaps if we did they would have messages of value for us; but they are so remote, so shadowy and the regions in which they move are to most of us phantasmagoric and unreal. The practical eye accustomed to the light of common day shrinks from exploring the very basements and foundations of the house of life, not perhaps because it would not be glad to be better acquainted with the busy silent artificers at work there, but because it is half afraid and half distrustful of its own powers. And yet so many of these shapes which in their vague indefiniteness look terrible, when approached in a spirit of cheerful comradeship and unqualified confidence reveal the kindest features, prove worthy to be the presiding divinities over some of the serenest most tranquilizing and beautiful spheres of our true existence. And so it is that those who have never been for themselves, or under the guidance of Maeterlinck, into the most secret chambers of the soul's silence, have not there stood face to



face with the great power, have not tremblingly interrogated and joyously appropriated its refining confidences, remain altogether ignorant of, or at most but imperfectly acquainted with one of the most important and vivifying domains of their moral and intellectual and emotional nature. When you have traversed the dim adytum, and been made at home in that high rare atmosphere, the temple thrills with a soft and soothing radiance, and you gradually begin to realize the subtle predominance exercised over some of the profoundest sources of comprehensive sympathy and love, by the voiceless yet incomparably eloquent power of silence. And when thus at last you have breathed its pure serene it becomes an active constituent of your character ; the soul naturally and spontaneously retires for refuge and refreshment, for inspiration and guidance, for sympathetic insight and understanding into the kindly welcoming never failing embraces of the silent shrine. Of all this, men in all ages, reflective pondering men at any rate have been more or less vaguely conscious. But Maeterlinck with his singular artistic poetic spiritual affinity for all that is most mysterious and lovely in the constitution of, or the influences playing upon, the soul has given a thousand formless thoughts and shifting impressions a delicate but firm precision pictorial in its fidelity and startlingly attractive by the force of the appeal it makes in all essential details to the actual experiences and sensations of refined and sensitive minds. The elusive almost imperceptible shades of feeling under certain emotional conditions, which are the common property of human thought, are daintily sorted, each is fixed and delineated in perfect proportion, the confused crowding and intermingling of phantoms is reduced to well defined groups and orderly processions ; out of what was before an unmanageable and comparatively useless chaos is developed a perfectly intelligible and symmetrically arranged sphere of inspiration, to be henceforth among our most prized possessions. I do not think that any of those who in Maeterlinck's pellucid pages have felt the shock of delighted surprise in recognising clearly, in understanding clearly what they had so often and often been only subconscious of, will think this language much exaggerated. And surely any one who before reading a line

of what this Master has written on such a subject for example as *The Silence* will candidly attempt to put his own ideas and experiences about it into clear and coherent shape, will when he compares his, with Maeterlinck's presentment readily admit that in the latter there are the finest qualities of deep insight and the loftiest powers of adequately convincing and beautiful expression. So many of us imagine that we have thought for years just what Maeterlinck has thought, but we have lacked the defining and visualizing gifts which he has brought to bear upon transforming those thoughts from mere fugitive sensations into permanent ornaments of the heart's altar and sources of its continuing ennoblement and inspiration.

You must expect here and there a paradox. The oracles are not always exhaustive, something remains unsaid, something is left for the appreciative sympathy of the hearer to supply; and just in proportion as that sympathy is intelligently evoked, do you feel for yourself the underlying truth of what at first seems obscure. "It is idle to think" he begins "that by means of words any real communication can ever pass from one man to another. The lips or the tongue may represent the soul even as a cipher or a number may represent a picture of Memling. But from the moment that we have something to say to each other, we are compelled to hold our peace, and if at such times we do not listen to the urgent commands of silence. . . . we shall have suffered an eternal loss. . . . for we shall have let slip the opportunity of listening to another soul and of giving existence be it only for an instant to our own." This is the key note, this insistence upon the active as distinguished characteristically enough later on from the passive lethargic silence, as the true medium for the activity and display of its actual self without qualification or disguise, of the soul within us. And here it may be as well to remark in parenthesis what should have been made clear already, that Maeterlinck is in grain and fibre a mystic. His brain and his imagination have been nurtured upon and kindled by the congenial utterances of the world's great mystics Plotinus, Porphyry, the Gnostics, Hermes, Trismegistus, Boehme, Swedenborg. The materialist who would define the soul as the intellect plus the emotions will probably turn scornfully away

from the profuse feast offered to him. To him I fear Maeterlinck will always appear a visionary, a spinner of fine phrases. He will not attempt to discern their hidden meanings : for him they possess no meaning, and they neither please nor satisfy him. Yet even such an one would I think if he could succeed in quieting the irritated vanity of that small and vain thing, the intellect sufficiently to allow whatever aesthetic faculty he may possess to come into play, very soon admit the richness and splendour of the style, the purity of the fancy, the large and free and noble sweep of the imagination. For after all it is comparatively unimportant whether the announcements of Maeterlinck are absolutely true or not. The point of importance is that he sincerely believes them to be true, that they are true to him and to many who see with his eyes. Absolute truth is an ideal in pursuit of which as much truth at least or error is ruthlessly sacrificed. Nor have all the intellects of all the ages yet agreed or even nearly agreed upon its criterion. The science as it is beginning to be called of epistemology is still in its infancy, nor for my part have I described any serious ground for hoping that it may soon come to maturity.

Is there not insight of a peculiar quality in this? "There is an instinct of the superhuman truths within us which warns us that it is dangerous to be silent with one whom we do not wish to know or do not love . . . and if it be granted to you to descend for one moment into your own soul, into the depths where the angels dwell, it is not the words spoken by the creature you loved so dearly, that you will recall, or the gestures that she made, but, it is above all the silences that you have lived together that will come back to you . . . . We can bear when need must be the silence of ourselves, that of isolation ; but the silence of many—silence multiplied—and above all the silence of a crowd, these are supernatural burdens whose inexplicable weight brings dread to the mightiest soul . . . . and if all efforts notwithstanding silence contrives to steal among a number of men, disquiet will fall upon them and their restless eyes will wander in the mysterious direction of things unseen. . . ." Have you not all noticed this eerie sensation at one time or another ; the oppressiveness of a sudden silence falling upon any festive gathering? how each

shifts a little uneasily on his chair; how furtive glances fly about from one to another, as though an unwelcome, unbidden invisible visitant had suddenly protruded into the circle? And at last there will be the old hackneyed remark, accompanied by an explosion of mirthless laughter . . . And this is the manner in which Maeterlinck describes our first conscious recognition of the power of the silence "Remember the day on which without fear in your heart you met your first silence. The dread hour had sounded; silence went before your soul. You saw it rising from the unspeakable abysses of life, from the depths of the inner sea of horror or beauty, and you did not fly. It was at a homecoming, on the threshold of a departure, in the midst of a great joy, at the pillow of a death bed, on the approach of a dire misfortune. Bethink you of those moments when all the secret jewels shone forth on you, and the slumbering truths sprung to life and tell me whether silence then was not good and necessary, whether the caresses of the enemy you had so persistently shunned were not divine." Who too has not felt the truth of this pithy judgment. "Some there are that have no silence and that kill the silence around them and these are the only creatures that pass through life unperceived." This again "Two souls admirable both and of equal power may yet give birth to a hostile silence and wage pitiless war against each other in the darkness, while it may be that the soul of a convict shall go forth and commune in divine silence with the soul of a virgin." Is there not something strikingly suggestive in this picture of two outwardly noble well matched natures, breeding an unvoiced unseen hostility in the obscure and unexplored realms of darkness so that unconsciously but irresistibly they are drawn apart, and through eyes which had hoped and expected to throw upon each other only lights of love, gleam the challenges of an irreconcilable enmity?

There are, of course, silences and silences. "There is no silence more docile than the silence of love and it is the only one that we may claim for ourselves alone. The other great silences, those of death, grief or destiny do not belong to us. They come towards us at their own hour . . . But we can all go forth to meet the silences of love . . . and therefore it is

that such of us as have loved deeply have learnt many secrets that are unknown to others, for thousands and thousands of things quiver in silence on the lips of true friendship and love that are not to be found in the silence of other lips, to which friendship and love are unknown." This beautifully full, poetic and suggestive treatment of such a theme as, presented under the bald heading of "silence" to thousands and thousands of ordinary men and women would hardly evoke a single definite idea, is characteristic of Maeterlinck's method and special power. The things that all of us see, that all of us think we know do not appeal to him; his mission lies in unfolding the hidden mysteries. He is at his best when exploring the shadowy realms of the border land, entering into the confines of the supra sensuous world. The veiled life of the soul, the crepuscular region of sub-consciousness, these make up his special domain. And he brings out of this dimness and obscurity lovely images that we then for the first time recognise, far radiating thoughts of which we seem always to have been vaguely conscious but only now clearly understand and appropriate to ourselves. The really interesting things are those which we can only divine. Upon them Maeterlinck concentrates all the vivid powers of his rich spiritual and intellectual endowment. As one of his critics says of him "He is penetrated by the feeling of mystery in all human creatures whose every act is regulated by far off influences and obscurely rooted in things unexplained."

But out of the mystery he draws inspiring lessons; the pictures that he sees behind the veil are almost invariably serene and comforting. And through all runs a vein of robust enjoyment of life as it is, that prevents him in all his best work from degenerating into mere mawkishness. I am dealing almost exclusively with Maeterlinck as a philosopher, thinker and prose poet, above all as a seer, a mystic. The name has for so long been associated with rhapsodies, ecstasies, and all insanities that in the circles of cultured materialism it is hardly respectable. But the mental attitude to which it was peculiarly abhorrent is itself a phase and a very transient phase of the general progress. The tide that came in with Darwin and swept with fury to such a height, submerging a

thousand revered landmark carrying so much that was unstable from ancient moorings along its swirling course, has turned and is slowly but quite visibly ebbing. No one who intelligently studies the signs of the intellectual times can doubt it. There are, too, profound psychological and moral reasons, much stronger than any mode or passing pose, why even the most disinterested philosophy of materialism must always fail to satisfy man. The complete content of an individual's re-action upon the world about him, which is after all what is meant by his religion, his morals, must fully meet and satisfy the demands not only of his perceptive and reflective, but also of his emotional active equipment. It is precisely in proportion to the degree in which any religion or negation of religion, any philosophy or theosophy fails to satisfy this triadic constitution of the mind, that it must infallibly lose its hold upon the practical allegiance of man. And in the latter department the materialistic schools are woefully insufficient. An abandonment of all mysticism for the sake of a hard materialism leaves the mentality of man much in the converse extreme to that represented in our own experience by nightmare. In nightmare we have the strongest motives to action but no power to carry them into effect. Under a rigid materialism we have abundant energies but no motive whatever for their employment. And from a moral point of view the last condition is more dismally distressing than the first. We are then I think right to welcome cordially and as sympathetically as our varying temperaments allow, a fearless avowed mystic like Maeterlinck who flames suddenly into the literary firmament, something of a prodigy, but instinct with colour and life. He is a challenger of the old order in most of its essentials. His is a strong new resonant note, which I do not think it will harm anyone, if it will not charm us all to listen to. For its music is the music of the inner self, of that deep-lying, little understood subjectivity, which is essentially the same under all forms of diverse manifestation in all of us, and our connecting link with the infinite; and its harmonies are, if sometimes elusively vague, strangely beautiful and attractive like the charmed strains of the sirens winning us for the

moment away from the hard bondage of matter, to share in the choral anthems of the choirs invisible. He is not a very precise writer. It may be doubted whether, from the point of view of the philosophic pedant, he has contributed anything of value to that store-house of rattling phrases and dry bones, in which they so assiduously labour. His philosophy, disentangled from his poetry and pure mysticism, is both crude in many respects and distinctly narrow. But such as it is, it is the philosophy of a real thinker evolved out of his strenuous determination to find, in the most inaccessible regions, the shyly lurking truth, and to find it for himself. He may be wrong, I often think he is, altogether wrong, but he is rarely insincere, and even his errors are so radiant that in the light of them one gains a clearer view of the truth beyond. In his earlier work, which is more poetic, more unrestrained than the serious sober questionings of the soul which find expression in that remarkable book *Wisdom and Destiny* he shows himself perhaps less scrupulous in checking the first spontaneous uprushes of the spiritual in him to the fountain and source of all spirituality. But for that very reason there are sudden insights and revelations, Pisgah-peeps into that lovely country behind the veil, scattered over, "The treasures of the Humble," for the sake of which we ought cheerfully to forgive some fanciful extravagances, some touches of exaggeration. If we turn to such a piece as the *Awakening of the Soul* we may or may not demur to the fundamental assertion of the periodicity of spiritual epochs; we may deny that we are living in one hall marked by a thousand unmistakable signs as such; but shall hardly I think be insensible to the beauty of the thought, the originality of the treatment, and here and there at least to the deep suggestiveness of what this seer of hidden things brings back to us from the great deeps. There have been times like this long ago, when the soul came near to the surface of things and perceptibly infused its own qualities into the doings and especially the artistic productions of men. At such times "men are nearer to themselves, nearer to their brothers, there is deeper earnestness and tenderer fellowship. . . . Their understanding of women, children, animals, plants, nay of all things becomes more pitiful and profound. The statues, paintings, and writings these men have

left us may perhaps not be perfect but none the less does there dwell therein a secret power, an indescribable grace held captive and imperishable for ever." So it was in Egypt once, and perhaps at a very remote period in the history of India "the soul must have drawn very near to the surface of life." "On the other hand there have been centuries in which purest intellect and beauty reigned supreme, though the soul lay unrevealed. Thus it was far from Greece and Rome and from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France." I pause on this sentiment for a moment to point out that it accounts for much in Maeterlinck. He is essentially anti-pagan. He has none of the true Greek spirit, of the passionate appreciation of physical and natural beauty for its own sake. Votary of the beautiful though he is, it is impossible to read him and not miss the classic flavour, not to feel that temperamentally he is a cultured mediæval mystic, that he is always looking for the spiritual core underlying even the loveliest natural appearance. Though he definitely and repeatedly denounces asceticism, saved from that extreme by the robust healthiness of his nature and the serene poise of his spiritual faculties, he has something of the ascetic in him. It may well be doubted whether the primary surface loveliness of nature and life as presented in mere scenic outline, would appeal to him without being reinforced by a sense of the divine beauty thus choosing to manifest itself; it is doubtful whether his attitude towards the inevitable, could ever have assimilated with the free irresponsible cheerfulness of the Greek, whether like the Greek he would have gone to face every calamity with a frolic welcome. The deeply ingrained seriousness of his mind, showing itself in his passionate desire to be for ever communing with infinities and eternities, to see into the heart of every mystery and feel himself in accord with the pulsations of spirit throughout the universe, is characteristically mediæval, antagonistic to the light hearted, joyous, ephemeral delight in living for the sake of living which was always a high note in the typical Athenian. The same strain may account for a certain lack of humour that is noticeable throughout Maeterlinck's works. I doubt whether the most careful student could detect anywhere the faintest smile, I am certain he would not meet with one.



genuine laugh. Returning from this digression I note Maeterlinck's confident assurance that this is an age of the soul's awakening. "But to-day it is clearly making a mighty effort . . . Perhaps never before has it enlisted in its service such diverse irresistible forces."

So much nearer has the soul risen to the surface, he thinks, now than some centuries ago that "The peasant to whom the power of expressing that which lies in his soul should suddenly be given, would at this moment pour forth ideas that were not as yet in the soul of Racine. And thus it is that men of genius much inferior to that of Shakespeare, and Racine have yet had revealed to them glimpses of secretly luminous life, whose outer crust alone had come within the ken of these masters." I quote such passages not so much to enforce their absolute truth to which I daresay a good deal of vigorous exception would be taken, as to show the main line of Maeterlinck's thought on this subject. The gathered experience,—spiritual experience at any rate of the ages is never lost. It may be dormant under the most unpromising exteriors—but it is *there*. That is what Maeterlinck tries to insist upon by instances which have a ring of paradox—though to him they were not paradoxical at all but the simplest of facts. By the gradual accretion of spiritual experience the soul of man in his theory grows more sensitive, more capable, more sympathetic, above all more assertive as it comes slowly from the depths to the surface—and hence the startling question which is, I think, the key note of the paper—and a question in form, yet in substance a statement of that which if it be a fact is surely a strikingly noteworthy and luminous fact.

"Is it thoroughly clear to you . . . this is one of the strangest most disquieting of truths . . . is it thoroughly clear to you that if there be evil in your heart your mere presence will probably proclaim it to-day a hundred times more clearly than would have been the case two or three centuries ago. Is it fully borne home to you that if you have, perchance, this morning done anything that shall have brought sadness to a single human being, the peasant with whom you are about to talk of the rain or the storm will know of it . . . his soul will have been warned even before his hand has thrown open

the door. Though you assume the face of a hero or saint or a martyr, the eye of the passing child will not greet you with the same unapprehensible smile if there lurk within you an evil thought, an injustice, or a brother's tears. A hundred years ago the soul of that child would perhaps have passed unheeding by the side of your . . . "

All very fine the doubter may say, but is it true? In these little explored realms what criterion of truth are we to set up? It is very unlikely that, whatever the proposition, either by way of assertion or denial, we should be unanimous in accepting or rejecting it, as though it related to matters of every day recurring experience such as fire burns, aloes taste bitter. And yet if it be a fact at all, it is plainly a fact as patent to a duly trained perception, and as insistent as any so-called physical fact. The truth being, apparently, that the sensory apparatus of man is upon the whole more uniform; that its registering capacity, in respect of the common incidents of life, is so practically identical that very little room exists for divergence of opinion, so little room indeed that the common sense of man utterly rejects such divergences, or places them in the category of abnormality: while the poetic faculty of which one leading characteristic at least is the peculiar power of insight into psychological affinities, truths let us say of the spiritual nature which, whether truth or not, would not, except for the poetic energy of some gifted mind ever emerge into the light of common perception at all—that faculty is so unevenly distributed, that the confident appeals it makes in the form of positive assertion, to catholic assent must depend largely for their success upon the sympathetic response they evoke from each individual separately. The signs that Maeterlinck sees all about him, the interpretation he puts upon them—all this is *true* for him—and true also for every mind, to which, once clearly stated they at once come home with the force of conviction. It is only those who, on reading such a passage as I have quoted say to themselves, "yes that is so, it is what I have felt indefinitely often and often without exactly understanding it. I understand it now, and the light it throws upon my every day experience makes that experience a growingly convincing verification of it"—only those for whom it will be

really true. Just as in strictness it is only for beings endowed with powers of vision that light is true. For the blind man light does not exist—it is not true for him though it is certainly true for you. It is only where the degrees of apperceptive capacity are so widely variant that we begin to realize how very arbitrary our standards of truth are : and the most I can say from the ethical standpoint is that in these speculative revelations Maeterlinck may or may not be a true prophet as you are or are not similarly endowed, and using these endowments find yourself in a sudden illuminative agreement with him. But, as I hinted before, even though you may not be disposed to go the whole way with him—though you may dispute some of his assertions, and think that others are much too broadly and unqualifiedly made, you will, if you are not thrown into a positively antagonistic intellectual mood, be ready enough to admit the attractiveness with which he presents his views, and the singular suggestiveness of many of his more original thoughts. You will also, if you have the literary sense, enjoy the ornate yet balanced style. The native exuberance of a glowing imagination let loose upon a quest of aesthetic beauty and ranging over a psychio fairy land, is curbed and kept within bounds by a severely classic taste. Considering the temptations to rhapsodical ecstasies offered to such a mind by the subjects it has overflowed, under an irresistible elective attraction, it is at once remarkable and creditable to Maeterlinck's general poise and mental equilibrium that his pages are seldom defaced by anything that can fairly be called unjustifiable, or offensive rhapsody.

It is true that he works in a medium other than that favoured by the logician and the philosopher. 'On his palate lie, in rainbow profusion the richest colors of the deepest emotions wrought up to incandescence ; but in applying them he rarely relaxes the control of a true artistic sense ; and above all a predominant loyalty to what he verily believes to be the truth. The chastening effects of these sane and wholesome influences become more apparent as his work develops and he passes out of the more purely inspirational moods, into an earnest critical search for the solutions of our most difficult yet vital moral problems. Any critical student of *The Treasures*

of the Humble, for example, and the Buried Temple, will mark the contrast, both in the key so to speak and the method of treatment. Throughout *The Treasures of the Humble* his distinctive leading function is to be the interpreter of spiritual and emotional moods, giving them a precision, a definiteness, a reality, and a meaning of which we had been wholly unconscious, or if conscious at all, only in a very vague confused and inchoate manner. Touched by his magic wand they yield their hidden treasures, step out of the mists, no longer amorphous and terrifying, but benignant, serene comforters and companions. All that part of the field of consciousness which had been enshrouded in mystery and penetrated by the subtle potent exhalations of automatic moods and emotions is swiftly lightened, made more homely, habitable and human. The play, the resistless play of subjectivity ceases to be altogether isolated and capricious. With a widening horizon and clearer vision, it recognises its close interdependence on, nay its substantial identity with its kin, and the communion of souls becomes a possibility and an ideal at least as satisfying and stimulating as the mechanical relations of bodies. The vast qualitative superiority of the soul to, and its virtual independence of, its corporeal and material environment are points upon which Maeterlinck concentrates the whole fixity of his gaze: and his purpose, seems to me to be, to explain, to unify and consolidate, wherever possible, the multifarious and perplexing forms of its individual manifestations. I am not contending that he is right. I will not even go so far as to say that I always, or nearly always, agree with him. I am merely trying to give a clear impression of what I think to be the dominant note of his mystical speculations. These speculations touch, may be, not always very philosophically and precisely, but informingly and challengingly, as indeed mystical speculation with any pretensions to completeness and dignity must, upon all the great ethical and religious problems of our life to-day. One ingredient at least of their total value which I, for one, place high is their absolute sincerity. Another the loftiness of their aim; and a third their distinctly elevating and ennobling practical influence.

• In treating of mystical morality, Maeterlinck defines his own attitude towards the insatiable demand for fact, fact, fact,

characteristically and forcibly, "The invisible agitations of the kingdom within us," he begins, "are arbitrarily set on foot by the thoughts we shelter. How strangely do we diminish a thing as soon as we try to express it in words. I have said elsewhere that the souls of mankind seemed to be drawing nearer to each other, and even if this be not a statement that can be proved, it is none the less based upon deep rooted, though obscure convictions. It is indeed difficult to advance facts in its support for facts are nothing but the spies, the laggards, the camp followers of the great forces we cannot see." I have quoted that passage to show how predominant throughout these moods is the power of an intuitional morality, how much in Maeterlinck's opinion depends upon feeling unverifiable, except by the assent of kindred feelings in others. If you would rightly understand and fully appreciate Maeterlinck, you must never lose sight of that; and you must not be disappointed if you do not find him bolstering up all his propositions with concrete instances, and demonstrating every truth he announces with the remorseless accuracy of a problem in Euclid. Let it be conceded at once that he is neither an exact thinker nor a scientific investigator. Possibly, as in this very study, he is altogether wrong; for there next follows a peculiarly Maeterlinckian explanation of one of his pet theories, the ultimate uncontaminability of the soul as soul. He is utterly convinced that the soul is a separate entity, and that the body is no more, than it was described many thousand years ago to be, its earthly tabernacle. In identifying, as he probably intends to do, every individual spirit with the one source of all spirit, he is logically forced to the conclusion that that which is essentially pure can never be the cause of, or responsible for impurity. Hence speaking of a human soul suddenly bared and made visible he asks "Would she, like a bashful maiden, cloak beneath her long hair the numberless sins of the flesh? She knows not of them and those sins have never come near her . . . They were committed a thousand miles from her throne. She has not interfered, she was living her life where the light fell on her and it is this life only that she can recall. Are there any sins or crimes of which she could be guilty? Has she betrayed, deceived, lied? . . . Perhaps far away she was sobbing, and from that moment she will have

become more beautiful and more profound." So distinct from the human ego is the soul within, that speaking of the case of a dead enemy he asks "do you imagine that I can still think of revenge? Death has come and atoned for all. I have no grievance against the soul of the man before me. If there linger still a regret within me, it is not that I am unable to inflict suffering in my turn, but it is perhaps . . . that my forgiveness has come too late."

A page or two later we get a fleeting glimpse of the theological side of his speculation "and would he be a God if his condemnation were irrevocable? Will the basest thought or the noblest aspiration leave a mark on the diamond's surface? What God, that is indeed on the heights, but must smile at our gravest faults as we smile at the puppies on the hearthrug? and what God would he be who would not smile?" This, one of the few passages with an old Pagan ring about it, is not hastily to be wrested into a sanction of all forms of human wrong. Rather, in this rapt mood of contemplation of the soul idealized, Maeterlinck is so penetrated by his sense of its inherent immaculateness, that he dissociates it, absolutely from all voluntary participation in crime and vice, feels it to be incapable of comprehending such transient aberrations from the eternal rules; and figuring any and every real God to be the perfection of all spiritual quality, he places him so far above, and so remote from all contact with moral turpitude and its physical expressions, that they dwindle into insignificance in comparison with the gradual flowering of the soul. His view is, or seems to me to be, that the God-like in man, the little spark of divinity which he calls the soul, never sins, is by its nature incapable of sinning and is indeed, for the most part, unconscious of the sins committed by the mortal frame it inhabits. It is only in proportion as the soul is dormant or atrophied or inchoate, that the man displays immoral aberrations. Perhaps you think that doctrine fanciful, extravagant; perhaps it is, I am not defending, I am only trying to explain and make you comprehend the point of view. It certainly seems, that in this particular burst of transcendentalism Maeterlinck regards the soul as something qualitatively different from the will,

the mind, the intellect, in a word, all the other bodily apparatus of cognition and action. I am not going to argue just now either for or against drawing sharp lines of cleavage of that sort. But I do not want you to carry away from the passage I read the notion that Maeterlinck's feeling towards the divine really represents it, in Tennyson's lines, reclined on lofty hill tops careless of mankind. On the contrary, so far as it is possible to collect any light upon his theological bias from these works, I should judge Maeterlinck to be a monist, seeing God in his own and every other human soul. This extract from *Wisdom and Destiny* affords, I think, a truer clue to his inmost religious belief "God, who must be at least as high as the highest thoughts he has implanted in the best of men, will withhold his smile from them whose sole desire has been to please him; and they only who have done good for sake of good and as though he existed not; they only who have loved virtue more than they have loved God himself, shall be allowed to stand by his side." In other words the anthropomorphic God of rewards and punishments has no place in his theogony. But I would hasten to add that Maeterlinck is least of all a theologian in the ordinary sense, least of all a polemic. His outlook upon man's spiritual and moral world is so broad and sweet that he must indeed be a bitter bigot who would pick a quarrel with this ardent child of love and beauty.

The logician's and the materialist's quarrel is likely to go a little deeper and further. But even on the crest of his highest transcendental waves of emotion, in spite of the instinctive shrinking back, the disinclination to be whirled off your feet and swept away from the old familiar standing ground, it is impossible to deny that this man is almost unequalled in descrying the most delicate shades of feeling, of dramatizing every phase of mentality, of making dainty lasting pictures out of every motion of the spirit over the slumbering deeps of sub-consciousness, of analyzing, exhaustively the shifting moods and variable impressions of the human mind, reading a new and fuller meaning into them, and fixing them by a thousand unexpectedly subtle relating

significances, in a justly proportioned scheme of progressively ethical beauty. What the most sensitive of us have hardly even felt in this crepuscular region of the soul's borderland, he sees with startling clearness. The mere nebulosities of our sensations stand out in clear relief; he gives them a form and a meaning, and under the spell of his magic these visualized messengers, from the unknown, impart their strange soft lessons of warning, hope and consolation.

I must here give you a few examples of the manner in which Maeterlinck treats the always fresh and always adorable subject of woman. Though it is one of my favourite essays, it is only just to warn you that opinions are divided, and that many critics for whose opinions I entertain the greatest respect, do not think at all so highly of it. The test will always be I suppose whether their own experience yields a like or anything like the same judgment. "In these domains" he commences "in these domains also are the laws unknown." (Where is the man among us so bold as not to go whole-heartedly with him so far?) "Far above our heads, in the very centre of the sky shines the star of our destined love and though we choose to right or left of us, on the height or in the shallows . . . and try our hardest to choose against the choice of destiny, yet shall the woman we elect always have come to us straight from the unvarying star." I appeal to all comfortably married matrons to enthusiastically endorse the nobility and truth of that sentiment. I do not expect it to be carried without a dissentient voice; it is possible that a few benedicts here and there may be doubting its absolute truth, while others, towards whom all unwitting, the fated woman from the star is on her relentless way, very likely feel their flesh creeping at the vague inevitableness of their impending doom. To them I can only repeat I am delivering not explaining or justifying the oracle.

The cold blooded, prosaic matter of fact very much married man will probably feel some difficulty in breathing the highly rarefied atmosphere of this paean of adoration. He will be inclined to doubt whether the artist has not altogether obliterated the observer; whether the exaltation of the strain



is not very exaggerated, the language almost grotesquely hyperbolic. It may be so, but it would be juster to suppose that we see here the passionate outpourings of a lover in the paroxysms of a first ideal, unstained love. The talisman of an overpoweringly genuine emotion opens vistas, the glory of which transports him beyond the limits of grudging analysis. If we cannot all sympathise with him now, there have been probably rosy hours in the life of each of us of which the dominantly sweet voiceless messages find here answering explanatory echoes. Some of us, at least, must have felt upon a chance meeting (rather, a fated predestined meeting) certain deep rooted, infallible convictions "come to you concerning this soul that is thus meeting yours, in spheres known to the Gods alone. And further can you not understand that this soul that was dreaming of yours, heedless of time or space that this soul too, had certitudes akin to your own?" And reflected palely across the centuries we recognise the Platonic doctrine of the other half of the self. In the sudden sympathies that spring up irresistibly on such a meeting, unaccountable but imperious we seem to divine, that "this is the invisible signal of the soul that salutes its fellow." If our individual experience does not confirm the ideal perfection suggested in the following quaint and beautiful passage, we may at least cherish a pious wish that it were always so. "Of the true predestined love alone do I speak here. When fate sends forth the woman it has chosen for us, sends her forth from the fastnesses of the great spiritual cities in which we all unconsciously dwell and she awaits us at the crossing of the roads we have to traverse, when the hour is come, we are warned at the first glance." Some perverse beings, he tells us, struggle against fate, press their hands upon their eyes, refuse to see and recognise the destined woman, take the wrong turning. And this is the ominous sentence he has to pronounce on them. "But, strive as they may, they will not succeed in stirring up the dead waters that lie in the great tarn of the future. Nothing will happen; the pure force will not descend from the heights, and those wasted hours and kisses will never become part of the real hours and kisses of their life." The realist will probably observe that what unfortunately does

happen, not infrequently, is a recourse to the Divorce Court. But according to Maeterlinck coarse trivial disturbances of that ephemeral character do not enter the pure serene of true love's eternal verities. They are the natural regrettable consequences of want of intuition of anticipating the arrival of the woman from the star. And with what a tender reverence Maeterlinck looks upon woman! "It would seem that women are more largely swayed by destiny than ourselves. They submit to its decrees with far more simplicity . . . . They are still nearer to God and yield themselves with less reserve to the pure workings of the mystery . . . . It is above all when by their side that moments come unexpectedly, when a clear presentiment flashes across us, a presentiment of a life that does not always seem parallel to the life we know of. They lead us close to the gates of our being . . . . And indeed will any true sentiment of the future ever come to the man who has not had his resting place in a woman's heart?" All words are insignificant in the presence of real love "What care I whether she speak of rain or jewels or pins or feathers . . . . Do you think that it is for a sublime word that I thirst when a soul is gazing into my soul . . . . Let but my very loftiest thought be weighed in the scale of life or love, it will not turn the balance against the three little words, that the maid who loved me shall have whispered of her silver bangles, her pearl necklace or her trinkets of glass. They know the things that we do not know, and have a lamp that we have lost. And thence it is that their strange intuitions have come to them . . . . She will look for one instant at the man who has been sent to her, and in that brief moment she has learnt all that had to be learned, and the years to come have trembled to the end of time . . . . Who shall tell us of what consists the first look of love, that magic wand made of a ray of broken light, the ray that has issued forth from the eternal home of our being, that has transformed two souls and given them twenty centuries of youth? . . . . So she will no longer concern herself with the things you say or do, or even think, and if she notice them it will be with but a smile, and unconsciously will she fling from her all that does not help to confirm the certitudes of that first glance. And if you think you have deceived her

and that her impression is wrong, be sure that it is she that is right; for you are more truly that which you are in her eyes than that which in your soul you believe yourself to be . . . . They are indeed nearest of kin to the infinite that is about us, and they alone can still smile at it with the intimate grace of the child to whom its father inspires no fear. It is they who preserve here below the pure fragrance of our soul." Whatever one half of the race may think of these sentiments, I am sure that the other, the fairer, will unanimously admit their profound truth and justice.

It would be interesting to know whether, since his marriage with the lady to whom this and other essays were dedicated, his views have undergone any modification.

In the *Star*, Maeterlinck presents us with ideas steeped in mystic melancholy and forebodings of fatalism. For although I have called him in the main optimistic and sunny, it would be a mistake to ignore the deep vein of awful sadness that emerges here and there to temper the brighter colours of his fancy. Indeed he expressly dissociates himself from the professedly optimistic school. To quote from another distinguished modeller of modern thought "A very natural re-action against the Theosophizing conceit and hide bound confidence in the upshot of things which vulgarly optimistic minds display, has formed one factor of the scepticism of empiricists, who never cease to remind us of the reservoir of possibilities alien to our habitual experience which the cosmos may contain, and for any warrant that we have to the contrary, may turn it inside out to-morrow." That kind of "vulgar optimism" which denies all evil and fate and incomprehensibility, is altogether foreign to Maeterlinck. At the height of his most joyous moods he is no more than bravely warily self-contained, standing four square against imminent dangers with which blind unreasoning irrational forces are always menacing him. In the *Star* he approaches fearfully the relentless inscrutable power of whose motor impulses we are as ignorant as the insects about us are ignorant of the motives guiding our actions. Not with the idea of explaining away its mystery or lessening its majesty. That is not his way. But rather of observing and recording its impacts upon the course of human progress and the moral

re-action they have set up in man. The great tragic poets are its interpreters to their fellows, "it is in the poets alone that we can follow the countless variations of the great unchanging power . . . . At the root of the idea they have formed of this power, is to be found perhaps the purest essence of a nation's soul . . . ." This inexorable fate, destiny, call it what you will, what is it? Strange that the period when it was most vividly realised, the period of Greece's intellectual supremacy should have coincided with the most beautiful period of mankind. No one intimately acquainted with the Greek Drama of which the keynote is the utter helplessness of man in the grip of necessity, can help wondering at the unconquerable gaiety of the people out of which it grew. As Maeterlinck puts it "the people to whom destiny wore the most formidable aspect were the happiest people of all." And again to-day the idea of destiny seems to be awakening. "But where shall it be found? To go in search of destiny what is this but to seek all the sorrows of man? There is no destiny of joy, no star that bodes of happiness."

I pause a moment to point out that while we hear a great deal of the Problem of Evil and the mystery of pain, we never hear of the mystery of happiness or the problem of good. And the reason is very simple. Man is permanently disquieted by any incompatibility between the future and his dearest desires and most cherished hopes. No philosophy of which the ultimate principle baffles and disappoints them, can long maintain its hold upon his allegiance. For example Schopenhauer's incurably vicious will substance, "or Hartmann's wicked Jack of all trades the unconscious" merely evoke fresh essays in construction. The legitimate activities of the emotional side of man's nature peremptorily demand some assured satisfaction in the future; and because the facts of experience and the subtleties of academic logic so often run counter to and refuse to gratify this demand, we find ourselves constantly face to face with the problem of evil. But man takes all the happiness that comes his way unquestioningly and as part of his deserts, so that the problem of good never perplexes him. In this sense it is partly true that there is no "Destiny of Joy." The sorrows of humanity follow a road resembling

the roads of our own sorrows; but it is longer. With physical sorrow for its starting point "it has only just rounded the fear of the Gods, and to-day it halts by a new abyss . . . . There are moments when it would seem as though we were on the threshold of a new pessimism, mysterious and very pure. The most redoubtable sages Schopenhauer, Carlyle, the Russians, the Scandinavians and the good optimist Emerson (for than a wilful optimist there is nothing more discouraging) all these have passed our melancholy by unexplained." Such a passage throws an interesting light on Maeterlinck's powers and limitations. His melancholy is something qualitatively different from the furious and morbid melancholies of the Schopenhauers and Carlyles; and the innate sanity of his mind suffices to transmute it, as the sequel shows, into a serene and purifying influence. On the other hand this casual dismissal of Emerson proves, what is abundantly evident in other places, that for all his mystical insight Maeterlinck was neither as true nor far sighted a seer as Emerson, just as he is immeasurably his inferior in scientific knowledge and much other mental equipment. It is not fair to describe Emerson's optimism as "wilful" as though it were a pose and deliberately affected. Really it is temperamental with him quite as much as the logical product of his wide ranging wholesome theism. The strong infusion of mediævalism in Maeterlinck's nature, must, I think, account for his inability to comprehend the incorruptible joyousness of such a perfectly poised soul as Emerson, and while the very taint of morbidity, almost superstition which faintly infects the splendid qualities of Maeterlinck's highest thought, gives a vividness and a personal application to all that he sees and feels and interprets, it will not allow him to contemplate, much less make a total surrender to, any destiny of joy. The sorrows, the tragedies, the unsatisfied expectations of every-day life these imprint themselves ineffaceably on his memory; he cannot explain them congruously with the native instincts of his own tender and sympathetic nature; he is always hearing an irrepressible whisper, the God that doeth these things is less a God than myself. His philosophy, such as it is, apart from the scintillating side lights of its presentment, is little

better than a reluctant horrified compromise with determinism. And yet his whole nature revolts against it. The sadness of man is still susceptible of infinite ennobling, until at last a creature of genius shall have uttered the final word of the sorrow that shall, perhaps, wholly purify. . In the meantime we are in the hands of strange powers whose intentions we are on the eve of divining. . . To-day it is fatality that we challenge. . . If we could but from the heights of another world follow the ways of the man over whom a great sorrow is impending . . . . and what man is there that does not laboriously, though all unconsciously, himself fashion the sorrow that is to be the pivot of his life." I call attention to the ominous note of determinism, and the instant reactionary protest. Into this rather sombre and fearful view of the course of mortal affairs there naturally enters a consideration of the mood expressed by the Scotch word *Fey*. That this is a real psychological phenomenon no one now seriously I suppose, disputes; that the common experience of a country called for the coining of a special word to name the special fact, is at least strong presumptive proof of it being a real fact for the purpose of psychological investigation. After commenting upon it Maeterlinck asks "which of us, recalling the circumstances of the most decisive misfortune of his life, but has felt himself similarly possessed? Be it understood that I speak here of active misfortunes, of those that might have been prevented, for there are passive misfortunes which simply come towards us and cannot be influenced by any movement of ours." The appeal is probably too confident and too general. Again "which of us, but has struggled vainly on the topmost walls of the abyss, struggled without vigour and without hope against a force that was invisible and apparently without power." The poet seer has of course the defects of his qualities; and among them that of being so intensely possessed with a pictorial idea in process of development, that in trying to do it full, he is apt to do it a little more than, justice. Such an outburst is pure fatalism, one horn of the determinist dilemma, pessimism without hope. For the moment he has so identified himself with the votaries of inexorable predestination that the illumination of his truer

instincts fades out and he falls below his usual inspiration. Listen to this reproduction of nature, red in tooth and claw, "what object can they have, these powers that seek our destruction, as though they were self-existing and did not perish with us, seeing that it is in us only that they have their life? What is it that sets in motion all the confederates of the universe that, batten on 'our blood?'" Every good influence standing between the predestined man and his doom has proved "too weak and too helpless to struggle against decided things, where decided it is known to God alone." I am quoting all this, not because I agree with it in the least, on the contrary I entirely deny it; but because I want to show you as many facets as I can of this brilliant mind. Because, too, the very inconsistencies and contrasts of his varying emotional outlooks, make up a great part of his kaleidoscopic charm. His simple vision seems to me almost always singularly true; but his essays at explanation, his ascription of causes . . . his deductions and generalizations very much less so. One very plain practical consideration has probably been in most of our minds. The man who has actually fallen, who has achieved by his own folly or wickedness the signal "active" misfortune of his life is almost certain to endorse with enthusiasm the view that he could not possibly have helped himself, that he has not been the victim of his own moral depravity, but of the inscrutable malignancy of fate. From the very nature of the case such a theory can never take into account, because it never hears of, the stubborn and successful opposition offered by countless others, to the influences of this same malignant fate. In these high emotional atmospheres, contrary currents of thought cut across each other every moment. Immediately on splendid passages (from a purely literary point of view) of the most unadulterated determinism, there follows, apparently without the slightest sense of incongruity an equally splendid passage, on the momentous decision, unconscious, but not the less personal, of a destiny in the heart of an individual. In an ordinary company "there shall suddenly steal over the face of one of them something that is not of this world" a hush follows, "for a second's space all shall be unconsciously looking out with the eyes of the soul. Whereupon the words and smiles

that had disappeared like frightened frogs in a lake, will again mount to the surface . . . . But the invisible here as everywhere has gathered its tribute. Something has understood that a fight was over : that a star was rising or falling, and that a destiny had just been decided . . . .” Here is plainly audible the musical note of free will. The next sentence is “Perhaps it had been decided before,” and I must confess that even in a Mystic and a poet whose visions are adorable and prose exquisite, this is just a little, a very little exasperating.

But in these moods Maeterlinck’s chief value lies in the literary and poetic qualities he exhibits. It does not do to take him too seriously as an exact thinker or constructor of philosophical systems. It is plain that throughout this beautiful piece (for as prose composition it ranks at the highest), all the superstitious element in Maeterlinck’s nature, that fearful distrust of the unknown, the unknowable, the irresistible, had free play, depressing the usual buoyancy of his spirit and its normal sanguineness and strength. “It is our star which it behoves us to watch. It is good or bad, pallid or puissant, and not by all the might of the sea can it be changed. Some there are who can confidently play with their star as one might play with a glass ball. They may throw it and hazard it where they list : they know full well that it cannot be broken. But there are many others who dare not even raise their eyes to their star, without it detach itself from the firmament and fall in dust at their feet. But it is dangerous to speak of the star, dangerous even to think of it, for it is often the sign that it is on the point of extinction.” All this reads like a page from the text book of an early astrologer, and has the true necromantic ring. No wonder that a writer whose moods are so Protean, who never hesitates for a moment to abandon himself to their passing sway should be so delightful to read but so impossible to classify. “We find ourselves here in the abysses of night, where we await what has to be. There is no longer question of free will which we have left thousands of leagues below ; we are in a region where the will itself is but destiny’s ripest fruit.” And there is an end of free will and morality and hope and all sense of personal dignity, we might say. But I do not believe for a moment that such a consequence ever presented



itself definitely to Maeterlinck's mind. I expect he would be the first to protest indignantly against a tame acquiescence in the creed, that "We are no other than a moving row of magic shadow shapes that come and go, round with the sun illumined lantern held, in midnight by the master of the show. But helpless pieces of the game he plays upon the chequer board of nights and days . ." In the Buried Temple where his mood is still highly mystical but decidedly calmer, more rational less ecstatic, there is evidence enough to convince the reader that he would certainly not accept the lines, "the moving finger writes and having writ, moves on. Nor all your piety and wit, can lure it back to cancel half a line, nor all your tears wash out a word of it." Almost immediately we come upon curiously suggestive ideas, which, under an exact analysis do not conform to the mechanical theory of the universe, into which we had just been plunged. "Vaguely have we learned that there are certain thoughts, certain souls, that attract events" (observe the individual is no longer the passive automaton, but the active agent, apparently the captain not the victim of the Star) "that some beings there are who divert events in their flight. . . . Above all do we know that there are some ideas that are fraught with extreme danger ; that do we but for an instant deem ourselves in safety, this alone suffices to draw down the thunderbolt ; we know that happiness creates a void, into which tears will speedily be hurled." A reproduction of the world, old time-honoured superstition, the Ubris and Ate dominating all Greek thought, in modern days surviving in the habit of tapping under a table with pious deprecatory formulæ, should anyone be unwise enough to own himself well or, happy. The origin of this mental infirmity lies in the seemingly ineradicable instincts of primitive man, that the Gods were a race of superior malignant envious monkeys, whose chief delight was to overturn man's every innocent conceit of his own powers and well being. It flourishes under various disguises, as vigorously as ever under the surface of the politest societies, and not the least common of its expressions is the sonorous relish with which we are in the habit of proclaiming ourselves to be miserable sinners.

Maeterlinck's better self soon begins to raise its drooping head "in every adventure there is a brief moment when our

instinct warns us that we are still the Lords of Destiny. In fine there are some " (*est qui*, I would here interpolate for myself) " who dare assert that we can learn to be happy, that as we become better so do we meet men of loftier mind ; that a man who is good attracts with irresistible force events as good as he " (*vide* the new American thought *passim*) " and that in a beautiful soul the saddest fortune is transformed into beauty." What is this destiny, this star ? At last we are coming to it, " a minute corner of the veil has been lifted " and there to our disquiet we see " on the one side the power of those who live not yet, on the other the power of the dead. . . . We have only shifted the mystery further from us. . . . We have enlarged the icy hand of destiny, and we find that in its shadow the hands of our ancestors are clasped by the hands of our sons yet unborn." Not even is our love free as we all so fondly imagine. Let that sweet illusion be for ever dispelled ! Here is the solemn capital sentence passed upon love. " In the very temple of love we do but obey the commands of an invisible throng. . . . A thousand centuries divide us from the woman we love, and the first kiss of the betrothed is but the seal that thousands of hands, craving for birth, impress upon the lips of the mother. ~~they~~ <sup>they</sup> desire " the echoes of evolution and heredity are audible enough through this dirge. But just as it is easy to prove ~~their~~ <sup>their</sup> inadequacy to solve the problems of mentality, in the hands of the ordinary materialist, so here in the mouth of the mystics their application is distressing only because it is partial and one-sided. He has just missed the note of reconciliation, which would perhaps have harmonized this dolorous ditty with his more allegro strains. As usual he has a view of the truth, of the actual picture, but the generalization is not true. " Thus are veiled the past and future, and the present which is the substance of us sinks to the bottom of the sea." Let me pause for one moment to ask each of you what you understand by the present ? " Heredity, will, destiny all mingle noisily in our soul ; but notwithstanding everything, far above everything it is the silent star that reigns." So we are not yet come to any very clear idea of what it is. Heredity, destiny itself, these are merely its broken rays, broken rays lost in the mysterious night. What is the end of the whole matter then ?

Destiny is all that limits us ; it therefore becomes our duty to strive consciously against limitations, to enlarge our circumscribed horizon. Thus only does enlargement come to our consciousness, and it is in consciousness alone that we truly live " it is probably on us alone that it is incumbent to augment the consciousness of the earth."

Thus far I have confined myself, for the purpose of quotation and running criticism to one or two essays out of one, and that perhaps the least important of his three chief, speculative, meditative, philosophical works. I have not said a word about the *Life of the Bee*, the book by which he is even still most widely known. Exquisite though it is as a study of insect life I have only time to say one word upon it. Underlying its ostensible purpose, and the conscientious detail with which that too is carried out, is an unmistakable vein of philosophy. It is indeed an illustration, rightly understood of one cardinal point of his systematized beliefs, to which more direct and analytic expression is given in the later books *Wisdom and Destiny*, and the *Buried Temple*. The utter inexplicableness of forces about us, infinitely stronger than ourselves, modifying our activities, often enough conflicting with the full energy of our instincts, this is the moral pointed by the *Life of the Bee*. It serves as a useful analogy to illustrate the bearing of the same immanent problem upon the unfolding of man's moral nature. One other remark. No student of Maeterlinck should omit to read the magnificent description of the Queen Bee's nuptial flight. It would be hard indeed to find a more perfect piece of prose in all modern literature.

Within my limits it is quite impossible to attempt anything like a fully reasoned critical appreciation of Maeterlinck as a whole, poet, thinker and dramatist. My main object has rather been to introduce him to those, to whom he is little more than a name and to make that introduction as flattering and favourable as my own general estimate of him. I have therefore purposely dwelt on such of his pieces as are usually first read ; but a good deal of the criticism I have attempted, even in this small matter of an introduction is based upon qualities that tone and are common to, his entire literary output. If you turn to his drama you will at once be struck

by his characteristically novel theory ; the complete subordination of the old dynamic, to an entirely new static presentation of the materials of tragedy. And you will soon come to admit that this is the logical and inevitable consequence of his mental attitude towards the meaning of life. With him action counts for so little in comparison with precedent, accompanying and consequent emotion. He would quite cheerfully abolish the drama of action and substitute for it a drama in which "nothing material happens and everything immaterial is felt."

I fear I have left myself no time to deal, I will not say sufficiently, but even in the most superficial way with what is after all by far the strongest and the sanest and the most valuable part of Maeterlinck's contribution to deeper thought. As we have seen him in his ecstatic and transcendental vein, looking into all the arcana of life through a veil of poetry and dream, so in such a sustained and conscientious endeavour to win the truth back from all formulæ and superstitions and sophistries, as Wisdom and Destiny he comes down into the arena of our own struggling existences and man to man tells us not without many inconsistencies, doubts and fluctuations of opinion, here and there, what he has seen for himself. He offers us a rich, a sober, a wholesome and above all a comforting and a sustaining experience. In this book and in the Buried Temple, his philosophy is at its maturest and best. From a strictly academic standpoint I question whether any one is capable of defining precisely what that philosophy is,—least of all Maeterlinck himself. For when all is said and done it seems to be much more a philosophy of the heart than the head. If it reveals much that was formerly mysterious it is merely to set up new mystery in place of the old. For the whole of Maeterlinck's thought, corresponding with the cast of his mind, is rooted in and draws its purest inspiration from the sancity of mystery. In his eyes it is infinite as the universe ; and the landmarks of man's spiritual progress are to be seen not as the scientist would say in the explanation and final dispelling of mystery, after mystery, but in shifting the mystery from a position in which it was exercising a harmful, to a new position in which it exercises a beneficent influence. The

mysteries we tear from the skies where they long stood as menaces, we set up in our hearts to be benignant counsellors.

I am inclined to think that the keynote is man's essential antagonism to natural forces, the antithesis between the logic of nature and the justice of man. Nature weighs only deeds, man weighs intentions. At the heart of all morality lies the sense of justice, but the operations of nature go on without the slightest apparent regard to our ideas of justice. It does not follow that because we fail to comprehend any moral purpose in the mechanism of nature that it is really devoid of a moral purpose. Upon the grand scale in its full completeness we may expect that the cosmos will reveal a perfect harmony. As moral beings we must hope that it will, although under the limitations of our mentality we are not likely to ever understand how. We ought to be satisfied with the miracle of man's innate sense of justice, surely among the most transcendent miracles. And the practical lesson to be learnt from an intelligent contemplation of the phenomena of experience is never to allow ourselves to imitate the injustice of nature, never to palliate any human injustice by ascribing it to a God, but to resolutely follow the dictates of our own innate sense of justice to their ultimate logical conclusions. It is only by slipshod analogies and indolent thinking that we bring ourselves to look resignedly upon so much avoidable injustice and attribute it to inscrutable laws framed by a power superior to ourselves. Most of the injustice in the world is made by and remediable by man. In comparison with its vast sum including items of war and poverty—the catastrophic injustice which we think we discern in nature and erect by analogy into a sanction to our own, is quite insignificant. The first step towards a sane human philosophy of conduct is to be just, not for the sake of future reward, not with the object of pleasing any God, but for the sake of justice itself. We are not to be always wringing our hands and cavilling at the inequalities of fortune. Who knows what may lie in the consciousness which rules nature? "She disposes of a future, a space of which we have no conception: and in these there exists may be a justice proportioned to her duration. . . . Even as our own instinct of justice is propor-

tioned to the duration and narrow circle of our own life. The wrong that she may for centuries commit, she has centuries to repair. . . ." But although in comparison, our physical life is but the dream of a moment, we are not to exclude at least the possibility of its prolongation. "He would indeed be rash who should venture to maintain that nothing survives either in us or others, of the efforts of our good intentions or the acquirements of our minds. . . . How vast a future would then be thrown open to the laws which unite cause to effect, and that always end by creating justice when they come into contact with the human soul."

There is a curious strain of shrinking from death and disease, perceptible throughout Maeterlinck's thought. His nature, notwithstanding its mysticism and moods of soft melancholy, is buoyant and full of vitality, of the keen joy of living for living's sake. Natures of that kind instinctively recoil before the idea of extinction, typified and foreshadowed in disease and death. Maeterlinck's optimism of which I have more than once spoken and which I think to be very real notwithstanding its obvious limitations, is the optimism of temperament rather than conviction. It is chiefly confined to the present, and flourishes best under a sunny sky or in a meadow of flowers. Challenged by some frightful calamity it has no very solid ground in reason to fall back upon, nor yet in faith. For nowhere will Maeterlinck commit himself to more than a pious hope, and that of the shadowiest and most impalpable kind, as to the hereafter. It is enough for him that wisdom joining hands with love should suffice to beautify every day and every hour of this mortal life. And the only sane rule of conduct is do the right thing because it is the right thing. Stand erect upon your own feet fearlessly confronting the uncomprehended inimical blind forces of nature, transmuting by the alchemy of a pure and aspiring spirit every experience however saddening however disheartening into some new character-building element of strength and goodness and nobility. It is useless, worse than useless to interrogate nature, sweeping resistlessly through eternities in the fulfilment of her own immutable laws, for any God. The highest God you have ever known or ever will know is in the

sanctuary of your own soul, the projected ideal of all the loveliest virtues you have ever conceived there.

Unless I am wholly wrong something of that kind will be found to give the clue to the shifting varieties of Maeterlinck's philosophizing. His best defined attitude recalls the old Roman Stoic, *Fortis et in se ipsa totus teres atque rotundus, in quem semper manca ruunt fortuna.* ' .

But unlike the Stoic, Maeterlinck does not withdraw into a frigid self centred isolation. Rather, his teaching is that the heart of each one of us should overflow with love and sympathy for all mankind; underneath all surface differences we should be seeking the identity of soul with soul, and by consolidating the forces that make for righteousness throughout humanity should within the small compass of our earthly experience bring about a reign of harmony and peace. Yet this is not a philosophy of passive contemplation of anæmic meditation and obliteration of human emotions. Maeterlinck is full blooded and actively human. He has no liking for asceticism; he does not admire renunciation for renunciation's sake. He is too robust to grow mawkishly sentimental over these parasitic virtues. If I had the time I should much have liked to enter into a critical examination of the Mystery of Justice, Luck, and the Past. I recommend the curious to read Luck in the light of modern psychological discoveries. I think Maeterlinck's theory is open to many obvious and some at least fatal objections, but it is extremely interesting and suggestive. I must here confine myself to quoting a few words from that splendid and encouraging piece, The Past, which will I hope excite enough interest to induce you to study it very carefully for yourselves. "The past is past, we say, and it is false. The past is always present. We have to bear the burden of our past, we sigh. The Past bears our burden. Nothing can wipe out the past, and it is false; the least effort of will sends present and future travelling over the past to efface whatever we bid them efface. The indestructible, irreparable, immutable past, and that is no truer than the rest. In those who speak thus it is the present that is immutable and knows not how to repair. . . . our past depends entirely on our present and is constantly changing with it. . . . what truly

remains of the past and forms part of us, is not what we have done. . . . but the moral re-actions bygone events are producing within us at this very moment, the inward being they have helped to form. . . . (past events) can only act upon us to the extent in which we have renounced our right to act upon them, the past asserts itself only in those whose moral growth has ceased. . . . Yes, even though our past contains crimes that now are beyond the reach of our best endeavours, even then if we consider the circumstances of time and place, and the vast plane of each human existence these crimes fade out of our life the moment we feel that no temptation, no power on earth, could ever induce us to commit the like again. The world has not forgiven, there is little that the external sphere will forget or forgive, and their material effects will continue for the laws of cause and effect differ from those which govern our consciousness. At the tribunal of our personal justice however, the only tribunal which has decisive action on our inaccessible life, as it is the only one whose decrees we cannot evade, whose concrete judgments stir us to our very marrow,—the evil action that we regard from a loftier plane than that on which it was committed, becomes an action that no longer exists for us, save in so far as it may serve in the future to render our fall more difficult; nor has it the right to lift its head again except at the moment when we incline once more towards the abyss it guards.”

F. C. O. BEAMAN.



# CRITICAL NOTICES.

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THE LIFE OF THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE, by Sir W. Lee-Warner. (Macmillan.)

NEARLY half a century has elapsed since Dalhousie left this country after eight years of strenuous and masterful work both in peace and war, of conquest and reform. His rule has passed into history as the most brilliant period in the annals of British India. But it is strange that no proper and worthy account of it should have appeared during this long period. While the lives of many later Governors-General like Lawrence and Mayo and Lytton have been written long ago, no one seems to have cared for Lord Dalhousie. This is owing to two causes. The Indian Mutiny broke out soon after his departure, and gave rise to bitter and unfounded attacks on his policy. People who dared not criticise it as long as he was in power, no sooner the Sepoy Revolt had burst forth, and given a handle of attack, were loud in their condemnation of a policy which according to them, was the cause of all that calamity. Every tyro in Indian affairs turned pamphleteer and proved to his satisfaction that Dalhousie's policy caused all the mischief. Even some who knew better joined them and accepted without hesitation, in works that were destined to live and were not mere ephemeral pamphlets, the view that he was responsible for the rising, that he ought to have foreseen it, and that he had neglected to take precautions against it. Sir John Kaye has in his "History of the Sepoy War" given brilliant currency to this view and has done much to blacken his memory. Sir Edwin Arnold, in a work on his Administration published more than forty years ago, condemned the policy of annexation and said that its narration seems "doubtless more like counting out of the spoil of brigands in a wood than detailing the acts of English statesmanship." His rule was seen only through the medium of the Mutiny that followed it and appeared quite distorted by prejudice.

While he was thus attacked violently Dalhousie, with a lofty sense of self-respect and what was due to his dignity, refused to defend himself in the Press, or to allow others to do it for him. When Sir Charles Wood wrote to him about these attacks in the Press saying it must be a great "trial of patience and temper" to him, he replied: "I will make no reply and enter into no controversy with the Press, and I wish no one to do it for me." This is the other cause of the neglect and misconstruction of his administration in literature. Even the remarkable Minute that he wrote on his own rule at the end of his career in 1856, he would not allow to be published. When Bentley, the famous publisher, asked permission to print it "by authority," he refused saying he "had no wish whatever to keep himself before the public and preferred to remain completely in the retirement he had found himself obliged to seek." He trusted to posterity to do him justice and left his policy and actions to be read aright in the dry and calm light of history. With this object in view he forbade by will the publication for fifty years after his death, of the materials that he had collected for passing a just judgment on his work in India. Thus the generation that immediately succeeded him, was debarred from knowing the exact truth about his rule. We admire the calm courage and patience of the statesman who could sit quiet under the abuse and vilification of his contemporaries, which he knew was unjustified, and postpone the full justification of his work to a distant period. He knew he had done a great work for the peace and well-being of the Indian people which time alone would bring out in its proper colours and which no temporary catastrophe could cloud for a long time and calmly confided in history to pronounce the true verdict.

But it must not be supposed that attempts were not made to set the public right in the matter of Dalhousie's rule. Though he would not speak himself, nor authorise any one to speak on his behalf, nor yet allow the materials for his defence to be used till a long time after his death, there were not wanting able champions. Within three years of his death the Duke of Argyll published, in an article in the *Edinburgh Review* a sketch of his work in India which first did the great Proconsul justice and had much weight from

the high position of its author, who was member of the Cabinet that annexed Oude and who became Secretary of State for India soon after. That article was published separately and the verdict that he has passed has been accepted by history. "His policy has been largely misrepresented and misunderstood. This review of an eventful time will justify the expression of a firm belief that, when the records of our Empire in the East are closed, Lord Dalhousie's administration will be counted with the greatest that have gone before it, and that among the benefactors of the Indian people no name will have a better place than his." Two years later the Duke was followed by the Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir Charles Jackson, who published an express "Vindication of Dalhousie's Indian Administration" in which he examined with great judicial skill and special knowledge all the main charges brought against him. He specially showed that the policy of annexation "by lapse" was not at all the distinctive policy of Dalhousie, but that of the Indian Government for a long time and approved by the Home authorities. Sir William Hunter in a short work, published fourteen years ago gave a sympathetic account of his career with his accustomed verve and vividness. It is the best and on the whole most accurate and just account of his rule.

But none of these works could claim to be authoritative. None had access to the vast mass of materials at Coalstoun or Dalhousie Castle which the great Marquis had himself collected and from which alone a true account of his rule can be written. The period of half a century, which Dalhousie had willed must pass before they could see the light, has now almost elapsed and these materials are available. Sir William Lee-Warner has utilised them in a very skillful manner in his recently published "Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie" which is the most authentic and worthy account of a great career. He has written not only the life of a famous personality, but the history of an eventful period which has been much misrepresented by interested or ignorant writers. It is not to be supposed that all the material for a just judgment was locked up at Dalhousie Castle, and beyond the reach and research of writers who wanted to find out the truth. The India Office, during

all these years contained a mass of official documents which were a complete answer to the charges brought against him but which have been neglected and in some cases suppressed. In these minutes Dalhousie suggested and recommended strongly the measures which would, if adopted in time, have averted the Mutiny, or if it had broken out, would have speedily suppressed it. He urged strongly on the Company the immediate increase in the number of European troops, which he pointed out were at a perilously low figure and which was one of the chief causes of the Mutiny. The Home authorities paid no attention to this warning and shelved the minutes. When Parliament called for them only one minute was printed in 1858. When in 1865 Sir Charles Jackson required them for his "Vindication," Sir John Kaye, then Political Secretary to the India Office, was unable to supply him with all the nine minutes. Sir W. Lee-Warner truly remarks that "Kaye's inability to find them is inexplicable," and says "they are in the archives of the India Office and were certainly there in 1865." They contradicted Kaye's theory that Dalhousie was mainly responsible for the Sepoy Revolt, and they were therefore suppressed. All these minutes have now, for the first time been carefully analysed and epitomised in these volumes. In the same way people who adversely criticised his annexations by conquest or lapse, neglected or deliberately ignored the official documents which would have corrected them. Those who most severely criticised his annexation and especially that of Oude, would have known, from these official papers that he was against the annexation of Oude but was over-ruled by the English Cabinet, that the Home authorities would have been glad of the absorption of the Nizam's territories, but that he successfully resisted their pressure. All these documents, as well as Dalhousie's correspondence with officials in England and India have been fully consulted by Sir W. Lee-Warner and his volumes will at once take the place they deserve as the standard biography of Dalhousie and the best history of his rule. Every writer on the subject must henceforward consult them on the pain of neglecting an authoritative work. It is to be regretted that they have appeared just too late for Mr. Herbert Paul to be used in his recent excellent history of the past half

century, as they would have corrected and checked some of his statements.

Dalhousie's rule of eight years, the longest in British Indian history, except that of Lord Hastings, was an eventful period when the map of India was finally settled, and most of the administrative machinery that we see working so smoothly at present first introduced or modified to suit modern requirements. It was a time of great wars when the fate of the Empire hung in a balance, as after the battle of Chilianwala before the decisive victory of Gujarat, and of great internal changes fraught with momentous issues to the people of India, like the education of the natives and the foundation of Universities, and the introduction of railways which has done much to bring the different nationalities closer and weld them together into one homogeneous whole. The map of India as he left it was very different from what he found it at the beginning of his rule, and is what it is at present with the one exception of Upper Burma. He annexed four large provinces, kingdoms they might be called in Europe, that of the Punjab and of Pegu in Burma, by conquest; of Oude and of Nagpore by right of treaty, besides several smaller States like Satara, Jhansi and Kasauli. These annexations, besides consolidating the Empire and increasing its revenue and resources, brought the benefits of British rule to countless millions, ground down by the military rule of the Sikh Khalsa or groaning under the tyranny of the myrmidons of the Oude Durbar or weltering in the anarchy of the capricious and arrogant ruler of Ava. British rule in India is justified by its being better than any indigenous rule, and by the good that it does to its peoples; and Lord Dalhousie did much to add to this good. He created the departments of Public Instruction and of Public Works and also those of Forest and Survey; he introduced railways and telegraphs, reformed and simplified the postal system, introducing the uniform one anna postage, built canals and inaugurated an irrigation policy which, had it been followed, would have diminished the horrors of famine, and last, though not least, he created the legislative councils which have had such an educative influence on the peoples. So much attention is paid to his

wars and annexations that his more quiet and peaceful work for the good of the people and the glory of British rule is in danger of being overlooked. He has left his impress on the machinery of administration which he remodelled and reformed. As Sir W. Lee-Warner says "his hand is still felt in every joint of our Indian administration."

Dalhousie came to India at a time when it was thought there would be no more wars and when the work of material progress and the development of the resources of the country was to be taken in hand. For this work Dalhousie was well fitted by the office that he had held in the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel, first as Vice-President, then as President of the Board of Trade. In the latter capacity he sketched a railway policy for England, which, however, could not be carried out on account of the railway mania of 1846. But what he could not do for England he did for India, where it was wanted much more and laid the foundations of a railway policy which has in its broad outlines been followed ever since. It was he who introduced the system of guaranteeing interest to private companies, which has done so much to increase railways in India. He settled the standard gauge on which all the main trunk lines have been built, and departure from which, in favour of metre gauge in later times, has been a doubtful boon. Though only three hundred miles of railway were actually constructed under him, he projected the schemes and had the surveys made for many thousands, built under his successors. The telegraph, which has revolutionised communication with the distant parts of the Empire, and in the words of Sir Robert Montgomery saved it during the Mutiny, was also introduced by him and he left four thousand miles of the magic wire. He did not neglect irrigation and the great Ganges Canal was finished under him which, if it stood alone, would suffice to equalise an Indian administration.

The Post Office was reorganised under direct Imperial control, no longer under provincial management, and a uniform system adopted of half an anna for inland and sixpence for overland postage.

In moral progress his rule may well be said to have begun a new era. In 1854 was issued that despatch which has been called

the Education Charter for India and which first recognised the education of the people as the chief duty of the Government. Before it there were straggling efforts in different provinces, but now he organised them and created the departments of Public Instruction, with a Director in each province, on a uniform system. This despatch goes by the name of Sir Charles Wood, who was then President of the Board of Control and Dalhousie has never got the credit of his arduous work. "Posterity has never given to Lord Dalhousie the credit that is his due, not merely in organising the departments of Public Instruction, but also in laying down the principles to be followed. On the contrary an idea has frequently gained currency that the celebrated despatch was not only inspired by public opinion at home, but was also intended as a gentle rebuke to the Government of India who had neglected the subject. So far as Lord Dalhousie himself was concerned such a suspicion is altogether unfounded "and Sir William shows that from the first he was in complete accord with Wood as regards the policy and heartily carried it out into practice." "If the honours of devising the comprehensive system of education for India may be shared between Sir Charles Wood and the Marquis of Dalhousie, there is no question that the whole merit of putting the plan into practical shape rested with the latter." He took active measures to suppress infanticide in the Punjab, put down suttee in Native States, and punished Meriahs or human sacrificers in Orissa. The prison system was reformed, inspectors of prisons were appointed in the various provinces and a humane treatment of prisoners was enjoined.

But this work of material and moral progress did not exhaust his energies, vast and sometimes vexatious as it was. At the very commencement of his rule he was called upon to wage war with the Sikhs, the most formidable foe that the English had been called upon to fight. They had been lately defeated by his predecessor, Lord Hardinge, and he had thought they would cease from troubling and being weary they would rest for a while. But within three months of his arrival they rose again and gave grave provocation by the murder of two British officers. Lord Dalhousie prepared for war, though he had come with the full prospect of having peace

and a quiet time to develop his projects for material advancement. "I hoped," he said, "to see prosperity and peace realised over this vast Empire. I have striven for peace, I have longed for it. But since the Sikh nation desire war, on my word, they shall have it and with a vengeance." That war was a critical time for the Empire and it seemed as if the English were unable to vanquish the Sikhs. The impetuous old General Lord Gough fought the fruitless battle of Chillianwala with the loss of 2,200 men killed and wounded,—83 British and 43 native officers and six guns. What another such battle would have cost, Dalhousie well knew and expressed himself strongly to Hobhouse, then President of the Board of Control. "If Gough again fights an incomplete action with terrible carnage as before, you must expect to hear of my taking a strong step; he shall not remain in command of that army in the field." Gough was actually recalled and Sir Charles Napier appointed in his place, a man of fiery temper with whom the Governor-General soon came into violent collision and a bitter controversy arose which was prolonged in England and had disastrous results for Dalhousie's fame during the Mutiny. But Gough retrieved his fame by the timely and decisive victory of Gujarat which utterly and finally broke the Sikh power.

\* Dalhousie resolved to annex the Punjab on his own responsibility. The decision was not suggested to him from England, though afterwards approved by the Home authorities. It was, as is well known, entirely opposed to the views of his lieutenant, Henry Lawrence, the Resident at Lahore. It is not true that John Lawrence advised him in this, as Mr. Bosworth Smith, his biographer, says Sir W. Lee-Warner does not find any trace of this advice in Dalhousie's correspondence, and on the contrary, in a letter to Hobhouse, his brother, he couples John with Henry as "the Lawrences who were of course opposed to annexation." The policy of annexation was his own and arrived at after long and mature consideration of all the circumstances. He was not, at the beginning of the struggle, anxious to do away with the Sikh power altogether. But as the war advanced and the Sikhs got the Afghans to fight with them and proclaimed an alliance of the Mahomedan and Hindu powers in Afghanistan, Kashmir



Rajputana to drive out the Christian foreigners, he realised what a dangerous foe he had on our frontier; and what a standing menace to our rule. He took this opportunity to incorporate the Punjab into our dominions, and how wise this decision was, appeared during the Mutiny when, as John Lawrence said, the Punjab saved India and the Sikh nation proved splendidly loyal to their recent conquerors, and the officers, whom he had gathered for the Government of the new province, proved efficient instruments for the pacification of the country during the crisis.

NOTES ON ETYMOLOGIES OF HINDI RURAL WORDS, by Paul Whalley, M.A., I.C.S. (retired). Calcutta and Simla : Thacker, Spink and Co. ; London : David Nutt.

WE congratulate the author on his pamphlet. It is well conceived and well written. "The range of rustic speech is," he truly remarks, "much the same as it was a thousand years ago." It contains much of what is most ancient and lasting in the elements of language, words connected with domestic life and the occupations of the ploughman and the herdsman, which are still the occupations of the majority of mankind. In consequence it is replete with words that have outlived thousands of years, and of which some form part of the common speech of many a country to-day." This is very true. As far back as 1872 Mr. Beames, when he sent the first volume of his standard work—*A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*—home to be printed, wrote: "My best book has been the peasant in the fields, from whose lips I have often learnt more than I could find in the dictionaries or grammars."

"In Hindi," the writer observes, "as in every language, there are words that have been born of freak or accident and that can give no account of their genealogy. But with the great majority it is otherwise. They are the outcome of thought moving in accustomed channels and developing in metaphors gathered from the life and surroundings of the thinkers, and therefore sometimes strange and difficult of apprehension to the foreign student until habituated to the

atmosphere in which they originated." He has submitted the etymologies to the triple test of glottology, morphology, and sematology. Indeed he has spared no pains to arrive at the correct source. "Still a few"—as he frankly confesses—"are confessedly speculative and are offered merely as suggestions of uncertain value." And we would like to suggest a few words about two of them. The writer says :

Ahibāti, aibāti, ahivāti, auhāti, a woman whose husband is alive. The Sanskrit form must have been adhipatnī. Cf. adhipatih, a reigning sovereign. A Sanskrit synonym is jivapatnī.

The Sanskrit word, we would like to suggest, is Ainsmati or Ainbati—one who has some time to live, and then "long lived." We all know that in ancient India the *suttee* used to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband. So it is probable that from that fact a woman addressed as Ainsmati was one whose husband was alive.

Then again the writer says :—

Bojhiya, a reserve for fodder and grazing.

Ultimately from Sanskrit orkshal, a tree, whence presumably orkshyam, a place of many trees ; then bujjha, bojh, bojhi. For the sound changes, see Lassen, pp. 117, 199, 263.

But Sanskrit Bhojya means to be eaten, edible. And the simpler derivation would be from that word.

We hope the pamphlet will be widely read, and its contents discussed with a view to arrive at the true source of these words.

#### AT THE MOORINGS, by Rosa N. Carøy. (Macmillan and Co.)

A very pretty story, told in straightforward simple language, of plain people bearing their own and one another's burdens amid the ups and downs of daily life. The vicar's love story, with its undertone of tragedy, and the rescue of the family for which the odds of colonial life have been too strong are described in a very real and convincing manner. This book is cordially to be recommended to those whose tastes lie in the direction of simple pathos, and who can do without thrilling episodes and moral dilemmas.

**WHOSOEVER SHALL OFFEND.** By F. Marion Crawford. (Macmillan and Co.)

A STRONG story, dealing with that life in Italy which Mr. Crawford interprets so cunningly. The plot is solemn, and almost terrifying in the grim intensity of the evil contemplated by the villain. But the very woman who was to have been the chief agent in the tragedy defeats the ends of the schemer by the nobility of her nature at the crisis. The tale as told rests upon the bed rock of human passion, and hence the vividness of its power. A happier ending would have pleased all whose interest has been awakened for the peasant heroine, but one recognises the inevitableness of the conclusion. The graceful ease of Mr. Crawford's style is excellently illustrated in the composition of his latest book.

**THE ENGLISH DIARY OF AN INDIAN STUDENT,** by Rakhal Das Haldar. Dacca: The Asutosh Library.

ON the morning of the 11th April 1861, a number of Bengali gentlemen had gathered on board the S.S. *Nemesis* to wish farewell to a fellow-country man of theirs who was leaving Calcutta for Europe, much against the wishes of his more orthodox Hindu relatives. This gentleman had thrown up, what seemed to his people, a very lucrative appointment, and had set his mind on improving his prospects by a protracted stay in England, where he was destined to gain the esteem of some of the most distinguished literary men of the day, such as Max Müller, Goldstucker, H. C. Robinson, Dr. Martineau, and Sir Charles Trevelyan. It is the Diary of this gentleman, prefaced by a short life, written by Mr. Harimath De, M.A., which now lies before us.

It is, therefore, the impressions of England, forty years ago, on the mind of an educated Indian gentleman, simply and interestingly told. Mr. Haldar saw a Roman Catholic Church at Alexandria and his remarks "Refined superstition—*ghanta*, *dhupa*, *deepa* (bell, incense, and candle)." At Malta he reflects "Are the lower orders of Christians superior to the lower orders of Hindus in intelligence? I doubt it." At Marseilles he says he went to "an excellent *café*, the woman at the counter

sitting like a queen on the throne"! Paris is "an elysium on earth." On landing in England he took a ramble in the fields and exclaims "I felt the same joy as I could have felt on reaching back the shores of Bengal." "We reached our intended lodgings," says the writer, "Bartlett's Buildings Hitchcock's Family Boarding House, Holborn, and such were the hospitalities of the hostess and her pretty daughter that I felt myself quite at home within two minutes of my arrival."

His first experience of an English home was so fascinating that he writes: "It is simply paradise!" "People living in cold climates," he says, "are exceeding warm in feeling. What are we in the burning plains of Bengal?"

He had an interview with Professor Newman, (brother of Cardinal Newman, but as wide apart in religious views as pole is from pole). Professor Newman gave it as his opinion that, and it is curious to notice how dogmatic people are who really know least about India,—"it would be unwise for Indians to attempt to throw off the British yoke now. He decided that Christ's name should not be mentioned in religious meetings any more than that of Socrates. Christ was so long regarded as God, that there must needs be a reaction. When men begin to break they cannot do so softly, and this is natural. The Brahmos had not done well in having mentioned His name in connection with the educational movement, as people were in the habit of throwing stones at Him here, and could not be expected to support a cause with which His name was connected." Strange words to come from the brother of one with such strong faith as the late Cardinal Newman!

Mr. Halda! went to one of Mr. Spurgeon's services, but was not much impressed, as the following words testify: "Attended service at the Tabernacle (a magnificent building), where Spurgeon, or as he has been surnamed the Rev. Mr. Corilla, preached. He talked, to my mind, rapidly, dragged poor old Socrates on the platform and poured a torrent of abuse on his devoted head, as if the rage of Xantippe, in days of yore, was not enough. Spurgeon said Socrates was the most wicked of mortals. Shop-keepers of London patronize his, so-called, eloquent preacher."

We finish our notice of this quaintly written, but interesting Diary with an extract which shows that Rakhal Das Haldar had a true political creed :—" I am one of those who desire for the continuance of British rule in India, and am not the less patriotic on that account. Some of the striplings, puffed up with reading books like the "Philippics" of Demosthenes, talk (though nothing can lead them into action) of patriotism, of driving the English away from India ; yes, I myself used so to talk when a lad of about 16 ; but deeper insight into the condition of India and the science of Government has shown my mistake. Who would let his child of 10 years go to an unknown country without a guide ? Just so with the natives of Hindustān, who are generally mere grown-up children, and actually require a nation like the British to govern and guide them. I therefore regard the British rule as a Godsend."

**CATALOGUE, PART I. AUTHOR-CATALOGUE OF PRINTED BOOKS IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES, WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY LIST OF NEWSPAPERS. VOLS. 1 AND 2. Calcutta : Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing. 1904.**

THE present Imperial Library was formed by the amalgamation, in 1902, of the Calcutta Public Library with the then existing Imperial Library, which had itself been formed in 1901 by combining a number of libraries belonging to departments of the Government of India. Of the latter the most considerable was that of the Home Department, which contained a large number of books previously kept in the Library of the East India College, Fort William, and in the Library of the East India Board in London.

The Calcutta Public Library was founded in 1835 and was located in the house of Dr. F. P. Strong in Esplanade Row from its foundation to the latter part of July 1841 and subsequently in a portion of the College of Fort William till June 1844, when it was removed to the upper floor of the Metcalfe Hall. In 1840 the Library, together with the Agri-Horticultural Society of India, was granted a piece of land by Government and on this the Metcalfe Hall, in which the Imperial Library is now housed, was erected. Its name was taken from Lord

Metcalfe, who acted as Governor-General in the interval between the departure of Lord William Bentinck and the arrival of Lord Auckland, and had gained great popularity by the Act of September 1835, which removed certain restrictions on the liberty of the India Press. This building, together with the books constituting the Calcutta Public Library, was acquired by the Government of India from its joint occupants in December 1901. The amalgamation of these books with those comprised in the then Imperial Library, after re-arrangement, and in part their re-cataloguing, was effected in the course of 1902, and the Library was opened to the public on 30th January 1903.

The present catalogue comprises all the publications in European languages in the Library that can properly be called "Books." The great majority of official publications, such as Administration Reports and Blue Books, are by general consent excluded from this description. There are, however, numerous official publications, such as antiquarian, scientific, and topographical reports, which have the same right to be regarded as books as if they had been issued by a publisher, and will be found under their authors' names in their proper places.

The Catalogue of the Library when complete will comprise—

(1) A General Author-Catalogue of Printed Books in European Languages.

(2) Subject-Index.

(3) An Author-Catalogue of books in Oriental Languages, with indexes of subjects and titles of books.

(4) Catalogue of "Books that are no Books," such as Administration Reports, furnished with an Author-index as far as possible.

(5) Catalogue of Oriental MSS.

This Catalogue reflects the greatest credit on the Librarian and represents a great deal of honest and systematic work. We congratulate the University of Calcutta on Mr. Macfarlane's election to a Fellowship of that ancient and learned Foundation!

**LIFE AND LETTERS OF EDWARD BYLES COWELL, M.A., HON. D.C.L., OXON.; HON. LL.D., EDIN., PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, CAMBRIDGE, 1867—1903.** By George Cowell, F.R.C.S. London : Macmillan and Co. 1904.

THIS is the life of an able, simple, and self-effacing man, for genuine self-depreciation is really the truest sign of greatness. In the "*Letters and Literary Remains of Edward Fitzgerald*"—Professor Cowell's greatest friend—Fitzgerald wrote of him :—"Edward Cowell, a brother Professor of yours at our Cambridge : the most learned man there, I believe, and the most amiable and delightful, I believe, also." These words Cowell strongly repudiated as "exaggerated praise"—but the testimony abides and is amply proved in the pages of this fascinating "Life." Edward Byles Cowell was born in the year 1826 and received his early education at Ipswich Grammar School. His interest in Eastern literature was first aroused when he was a boy of fourteen by the works of Sir William Jones, which he found in the local Literary Institute of his native town, and his earliest purchase a copy of Professor Wilson's Sanskrit Grammar.

He had to leave school at an early age, on account of the death of his father, and for seven years he devoted himself to the work in a counting house, all the while, however, devoting his evening hours to study.

When only sixteen he published a translation of Persian odes from the *Ghazel* of Hafiz in the *Asiatic Journal*, and at the age of twenty an article on Homeric influence in the East in the *Gentleman Magazine*, and another on Persian poetry in the *Westminster Review*. He made two lasting friends at this period of his life, viz., Edward Fitzgerald, whose well-known translation of *Omar Khayyam* owes its existence to his suggestions—and Professor Wilson, the author of his first treasure, the Sanskrit Grammar—and Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford.

When barely twenty he became engaged to Elizabeth Charlesworth (the marriage took place in 1847), many years his senior, and sister of Maria Charlesworth of *Ministering Children* fame. Mrs. Cowell was herself possessed of many literary gifts, and proved an efficient helpmeet.

In 1850 he matriculated at Oxford, his wife having persuaded him that a University training was necessary to

success in scholarship—and in spite of his wide range of reading, which his friends thought might prevent him taking a good degree—he took a first in Classics in 1854.

During his undergraduate days he published a grammar of Prakrit, which firmly established his reputation as an Oriental scholar.

In 1854 was fulfilled the dream of his life in an Indian appointment, for in that year he was nominated to the Professorship of History and Political Economy in Calcutta. It is true, he says, he did not know much about Political Economy, but the voyage of four months to India gave him plenty of opportunity of learning both Hindustani and the subject which he had been especially appointed to teach. The Cowells were in India from 1856 to 1864—in all eight years—and their life there is fully described in letters written chiefly to his mother. Their first home was at Spence's Hotel, and it is curious to notice the martial spirit developed in such a man of peace—by the events of the Mutiny. Cowell began at once vigorously to practice with his revolver. "I had been unable," he says, "to practise at the Inn, and so I asked a very kind friend of ours, Mr. Richards, the clergyman of St. John's Church, where we generally now attend, to let me come and practise in his garden. He lives out of Calcutta, at Ballygunge, and he at once gave me a cordial invitation. So I went several times last week and practised for hours with my own pistol and his revolver . . . Till then I did not know, however, to load a revolver."

With regard to the cruelties practised by the mutineers he says:—"Really vengeance against such wretches become a sacred feeling—one feels they *ought* to me made a memorable example of. I hope and trust Government will be unrelentingly just and stern in their treatment of them." And in another place concerning the old King of Oude he writes:—"I only hope some soldier may take the law into his own hand and shoot the old vagabond as he passes. There are many men in India who have lost many friends, and if ever 'killing was no murder' it would be in such a case. I never felt more savage at anything than I have done lately in hearing that he was not only *spared*, but that he is at



this moment living in State in his Palace, and called 'your Majesty' by the English officers who attend him."

We quote the following, for the advice, most true, may be of use to some of our readers:—"I can't help thinking that the way to keep well in India is to have the mind constantly occupied . . . . I pity the Englishman who finds himself thrown out here as an exile without any interest beyond what he could feel in England . . . . Of course, if a person feels an exile and is constantly sighing to return, the country seems an unbearably miserable one; but if the mind can create its own sphere of interest, and throw itself into its new world and resolve to live its life (according to Goethe's idea of happiness—living one's life out), then a man can be very happy in India amongst the pundits and the moonshees. I pity those who are only this or that—only Governors-General or Members of Council. But if a man is something more in himself,—and really interested in the country beyond the routine of his daily business (be it high or low, it matters not), then the country becomes a different scene at once."

There are one or two interesting references to the *Calcutta Review* in this Biography. George Cowell says;—"The *Calcutta Review* was an ably conducted quarterly publication which had been founded by Sir John Kaye and D. Duff, to promote literature and science. Of course in India the circulation of such a periodical was of slow growth, and for many years it was quite unable to pay either its editors or contributors. It was then no slight credit to those able men who wrote for it in those early years and who were apparently proud to give it from time to time a helping hand . . . . Cowell contributed at least three important and thoughtful articles to the *Calcutta Review* whilst he was in India, and these contributions, made nearly half a century ago, testify to that benevolent spirit. The first of these articles appeared in the *Calcutta Review* in September 1857, and was founded on a lecture which he delivered at the Presidency College on 'The Principles of Historic Evidence' . . . . The second article, which appeared in March 1858, was a very interesting review of a French translation of the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam, a poem

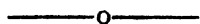
which was some years later to make Edward Fitzgerald famous in the world of literature.

The third article appeared in the *Calcutta Review* in September 1858 on "The Mythical and Legendary Accounts of Caste."

The Cowells left India in 1864 and hoped to return, but when the University of Cambridge in 1867 instituted a Professorship of Sanskrit Professor Cowell resolved to apply for the post. He was elected by 96 votes against 37 given to Professor Aufrecht, of Edinburgh, and he held the chair for 36 years, until his death. Although an Oxford man he very soon fell in love with his new University and in scholarship gave it a higher place than Oxford. On this point he says:—"I am widely read no doubt, but not 'learned' in the Cambridge sense, like the great scholars there. It is no fault of mine, but fate's. I left school at 16 and spent my next nine years in a counting house; and then I went to Oxford where I gained plenty of interesting and useful culture, but not the Cambridge kind of scholarship. Oxford has not got it to teach, as Jowett shows in his Republic."

Mrs. Cowell died in 1899, at the age of 87, and her husband four years later, on 9th February 1903, a few days after his 77th birthday. One who knew the late Professor Cowell well has testified and his testimony is endorsed by many others, both Indian and European. "My impression of his character, as I suppose would be of all others who knew him, is that he combined in a very remarkable degree three things, *viz.*, (1) Immense learning—specially, but by no means exclusively or disproportionately, in Asiatic languages and literature; (2) a humility and modesty, which while it made him very loveable, kept him from being known and appreciated as he deserved to be; (3) a genuine piety which retained the simplicity of childhood to the end. This Biography tells us what his native friends thought of him and he of them. He was indeed a missionary amongst them, though not perhaps in name, and his great love and admiration for the natives of India made him think they were too good and interesting not to be Christians like himself. His goodness in India made many feel that Christianity must be true, as Professor Cowell was a Christian. Force of character could go no further.

## VERNACULAR LITERATURE.\*



*Pujyapāda Srimanmaharsi, Debendra Nāth Thākurer swarachita jivancharita* and *parisista* (Autobiography of Maharsi Debendra Nāth Tagore with an appendix)—published by Preo Nāth Sāstri. This book is a remarkable addition to the biographical literature of Bengal which is exceptionally poor. We have not more than half a dozen good biographies in Bengalee—*vis.*, Bābu Nagenra Nāth Chatterjee's "Rām Mohan Roy," Bābu Jogendra Nāth Basu's "Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt," Bābu Behari Lāl Sircār's "Vidyāsāgar", and Bābu Chandicharan Banerjee's "Vidyāsāgar."

"The public," writes Mr. Protap Chandra Mozoomdar, "was long expecting the publication of this book, because we all knew it had been ready and written years ago." The book is written in Bābu Debendra Nāth's usual fascinating style—better far than the hybrid style of which his gifted son Rabin-dra Nath is the chief exponent—and spiced with apt quotations from Sanskrit, Persian, and English.

Bābu Debendra Nāth's is a striking personality, prominent in all matters of social and religious reform in modern Bengal. He made Rājā Rāmmohan Ray's Brahmoism popular. And it was at his feet that Keshab Chandra Sen sat to learn those truths which, expressed in his own inimitably eloquent language, charmed seekers of truth even in the West. "So much of the history of the growth of the mind of Maharsi Devendra Nāth Tagore is the history of the internal and external growth of religious reform in India in its early days, that his self-descriptions cannot fail to interest every student of the spiritual development of modern India."

But the book is rather disappointing, for it deals with the first forty years of Babu Debendra Nāth's life, and has been

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\* It is intended to revive that part of the work of this *Review* which consisted of brief notices of Vernacular Literature, and a distinguished Bengali authority has taken this task in hand.

very badly edited. There are many points on which the editor could have and should have thrown light—which he has not done. To give an instance—the editor ought to have explained how simple Babu Debendra Nāth came—in these degenerate days of the *Kaliyuga*—to be called a *Maharsi*, a title reserved for sages of ancient India. The editor has given in the appendix a few anecdotes and a few letters. But they have neither been so chosen nor so arranged as to make the context more readily understood by the reader. In a word they are neither characteristic, nor of any especial value.

In spite of these shortcomings the book is extremely interesting. In it the reader will find the author's own account of the first awakening of the sense of religion in his mind as he sat by his dying grandmother near the burning *ghāt*. His grandmother died. Great grief was in his heart, and a sense of despondency. When he was in this depressed state of mind one day a torn page from some Sanskrit book fluttered past him in the wind. Out of curiosity he picked it up, and got the page translated. The sense was—"whatsoever is in this world is encompassed by God. . . ." "When I heard this explained," he says, "the nectar from paradise streamed into my soul." Confronted by the cruel, relentless order of the universe, the seeming waste and cruelty of death, he passed through the valley overshadowed by the darkness of the tomb, through the regions of philosophic doubt bordering close upon despair, on and up to the serene heights of resignation and trust where faith and love triumph over death in the confident hope of the life beyond, and over doubt and despondency, he embraced the Eternal One of the Upanisadas.

The trials and troubles of Babu Debendra Nāth's younger days, his financial difficulties, and his struggle with and final triumph over idolatry, have all been told without reserve, and are enough to raise the drooping heart.

There are many controversial points in the later part of Babu Debendra Nāth's career, now and then darkly hinted at in newspaper and magazine articles—on which clear light should be thrown. For that we eagerly await the publication of a conventional biography. In the meantime the present work will, we are sure, be widely read and appreciated.

*Rāmtonoo Lāhiree and Tatkalin Banīrasamāj* (Rāmtonoo Lāhiree and contemporay Bengali Society) by Pandit Siva Nāth Sāstree. It is seldom that a hero gets so well known a hero-worshipper or biographer. Pandit Siva Nāth is the recognised leader of the Sādhāran Brahmo Samāj and he yields to none in his respect for the subject of his biography. But Bābu Rāmtonoo's was a life of passive goodness, and it was his good influence that radiated around him. It was of him that Bābu Dina Bandhu said that if a sinner spent a day with him he enjoyed content for ten days. Bābu Rāmtonoo spent the first half of his life as a teacher of youth. The second half was divided between his study and his invalid's bed. His was an exemplary life. And the only matter in which he took active initiative was the renouncing of the "sacred thread" of the Brahman. His life-work could be related in about a dozen pages. So the author has attempted to write a history of contemporary Bengali society. And here, we must say, he was not properly equipped. It is a big leap from the days of Derozio and D. L. R. to our own time. And during this period has grown a marvellous change in modern Bengal. The atrophied veins of the East have been quickened with the blood of the West, and two entirely different civilisations have met and mingled. Some day will some historian of our own time trace the growth of the new spirit. But Pandit Sāstree though he has collected some materials has not been successful here. We admire his laboriousness for which the future historian will thank him, but cannot call his attempt a signal success.

*Deserkathā* (Words about the country) by Sakhārām Ganes Deuskar. The author is a young man belonging to a Mahratta family acclimatised in Bengal. He has already made his mark in Bengali literature by his numerous writings. And his connection with the vernacular press is well known. Since he made his *début* with *eta con yuga* he has published short biographical sketches of Baji Rao, Mahādeo Govind Ranade and the unfortunate prince of Jhansi. The book before us contains the following chapters : (1) Our country, (2) Merits and demerits of British administration, (3) State of the country, (4) Mental deterioration, (5) Ruin of the peasant, (6) Railways and

irrigation, (7) The ruin of the artisans in Bengal, (8) Ruin of indigenous industries, (9) Income and expenditure of the country, (10) Mesmerism, (11) Appendix.

The author belongs to the Digby-Dadabhai-Dutt school of Indian politics and as such is of opinion that England is impoverishing India by a merciless drain, and legislations hostile to the interests of Indian industries. He is, moreover, of opinion that the peasant is growing poorer and poorer. Space will not permit our discussing in detail the opinions expressed by the author in the book. And we must leave the reader to form his own judgment. Suffice it to say that there is another side of the shield. Official reports, and the works of men like Mr. J. D. Rees and Mr. Malleson try to controvert the opinions held by followers of the Digby-Dadabhai-Dutt school. And British rule in India has been in many ways beneficial to the people.

The author has collected a mass of information. And the book will prove very useful to those who cannot read the books from which he has chiefly drawn in the original. We must give him credit for the work he has done during hours of scanty leisure in the midst of engrossing journalistic work.

*Sriyat-Goswami Tulasidāsakṛita Rāmāyana.*—(The Rāmāyana of Tulsi Dās) translated and published by Hari Narāian Missra. Mr. Griffith, the translator of the Sanskrit Rāmāyana, is of opinion that in Upper India people hold Tulsi-Kṛit Rāmāyana in more reverence than they do the Bible in England. This Rāmāyana is to be found in every Hindu house in Upper India, and is held in universal respect. The book guides the people in matters of religion and serves the purpose of a beacon light in moments of dark despair. Dr. Grierson holds that though Tulsi Dās did not found a new sect many Hindus follow him in matters religious. The book has been made familiar to the English-reading public by Mr. Growse, of the Indian Civil Service. "Mr. Grierson," writes Mr. Fraser, the author of "Literary History of India," "whose every word in criticism is weighed and uttered after a thorough and unique mastery of his subject in all its bearings, classes the masterpieces of Sūr Dās and Tulsi Dās as not far behind the works of Spenser and Shakespeare."

It is a healthy sign of the times—due, we beg to assert, to the wholesome influence of English education, that Bengali authors are trying to enrich their literature with translations of masterpieces written in languages other than their own. Bâbu Hari Nârâian has laid his countrymen under obligation by translating Tulasi's masterpiece into Bengali. And his rendering is fairly good. He has, moreover, published the book for free distribution. This act reminds us of the days when in India men considered it a shame to sell knowledge, and considered the free distribution of food, drink, and knowledge an act of piety.

*Bir-Kumâr-Badhâ Kāvya* (The slaying of the boy-hero—an epic) by Mânakumâree Basu. The authoress has achieved some success as a writer of lyrical pieces. This is her first attempt at writing an epic—and as such it can safely claim indulgence at the hands of the reading public for its shortcomings. The authoress can claim no especial praise in creating or depicting character. Her forte lies in word-painting. Unfortunately here and there colloquial words mar the homogeneous sonorousness of classical, expressive Sanskrit words. Almost on every page we find faint echoes of Michaël Madhu Sudan Dutt. Her descriptions are, in most places, after Madhu Sudan—but diffused. The authoress, who claims relationship with the great poet, has, it seems, followed most of his shortcomings. Since the publication of Madhu Sudan's *Meghnâd-Badhâ*, so many works have been published on the lines laid down by the poet that people have grown afraid of epics in blank verse. What Mr. Herbert Paul said of the imitators of Dickens applies equally well to the imitators of Madhu Sudan. These imitators "so numerous and so tiresome, are apt, illogically enough, to make people forget that he was among the most original of all writers." Imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery. It is the most dangerous form of admiration.

We are sure, if the authoress would leave off imitating and fall back on her own resources, and give her blank verse a little more polish, her book would be able to secure a permanent place in Bengali literature.

*Mâiâr-Bandhan* (The tie of affection) by Sudhindra Nâth Tagore. Bâbu Sudhindra Nâth is a worthy member of the gifted Tagore family of Jorâsanko, and a grandson of Bâbu Debendra Nâth, the patriarch of the Brahmo Samâj. For some time he edited the *Sâdhanâ* with considerable ability. And he has written a number of short stories which have been widely appreciated. This is his first attempt at a long story, and the first fruit is not very promising. His characters lack the charm of novelty, and the plot is of a slipshod kind. Bengali writers seldom take the trouble of consulting all available information regarding the subject of their writings. And the author is not an exception. He is not a Hindu. But when he wrote of a Hindu family he ought to have made himself certain of the details. He could easily have known that no Hindu marriage takes place in the month of Asvin. Such mistakes should not be pardoned in a novelist.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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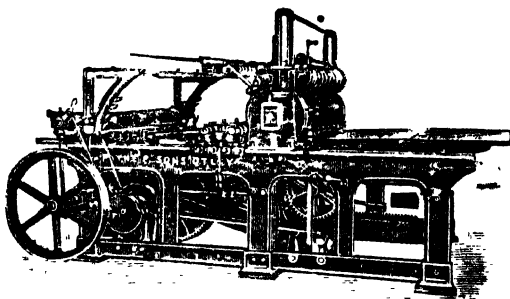
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## Art. I.—AXES AND RAZORS.

UNTIL of late years the Indian Civil Service was a thing of special and peculiar conditions, arising out of the circumstances in which it had originated. The East India Company had been at first a mere syndicate of merchants; incorporated by Royal Charter: and their business consisted simply of buying muslins, spices, and other peculiar products of the East, shipping them to London and disposing of them there to the best advantage. The procuring of these investments required the Agency of men in whose ability and honesty some confidence could be reposed, and who, under the titles of "*Writers*," Merchants and Factors, resided in fortified counting houses, at the ports of exportation. With the growth of political power, their duties became more varied and important. Nevertheless the old titles long remained, and up to the time of the Regency the *personnel* of the Indian Civil Service continued to be much what it had been as re-organised by Lords Cornwallis and Wellesley, and typical representatives will be found in the pages of "*Vanity Fair*" and "*The Newcomes*." Thackeray, the author of those works, was born in India, and many of his kindred were members of the service. So that it is quite likely that, making allowance for caricature, Messrs. Jos. Sedley and James Binnie may have been drawn from the life. Though there were no doubt many distinguished exceptions, we shall hardly go wrong in supposing the average civilian of those days to have been an ordinary middle-class Briton, whether from Edinburgh or London, principally bent upon making a purse, wherewith to retire to his native land, and in the meanwhile leaving the administration of his district,

principally to his native officials ; while he devoted his ample leisure to hog hunting, shooting tigers from the backs of elephants, playing whist, and smoking a *hookah*. Nevertheless signs of change were not wanting : already a college had been established on Hertford Heath in which the nominees of the Directors of the East India Company, might be prepared for the duties before them. In 1813 when the Company's Charter came up for renewal, the question of the appointment of these men, formed a subject of discussion ; and much controversy arose as to how the patronage should be exercised if the Charter were not to be renewed. It was urged as one objection to the transfer of the direct administration of British India to the Crown, that to place this patronage in the hands of the Home Government would be to make a dangerous addition to the means of corruption 'already possessed by the King's Ministers. In answer to this objection Lord Grenville observed that it would be sufficient if the future members of the service were appointed by means of competition, and afterwards sent to a university to complete their training : which is substantially what is done at the present time. This proposition of Lord Grenville's, however premature, was, of course, an evident foreshadowing of the present system whereby the administration of India has become the prize of scholastic success. It was not however, adopted at the time : the Charter was renewed and the patronage continued to be vested in the Court of Directors, a few nominations being reserved for the Board of Control. The civilians now gradually became somewhat better than of old. under Lord William Bentinck the laws were reformed and the details of administration improved, though the officers might still be regarded as falling into three classes, the good, the bad, and the indifferent. The good outnumbered the bad, and the service, which had never been wanting in distinguished men, continued to produce officers who rose to a level with their opportunities. Elphinstone, Metcalfe, Jenkins were the result of the old system ; among their immediate successors were Torrens and Elliot, Colvin and many others whose names are still well known in India. What the ordinary bulk of the service was may be conjectured from the works of Mrs. Parkes and the Hon'ble Emily Eden ; they were men whose

pursuits were the same as those of their predecessors, but with much less leisure and much more attention to official duty. The Secretariat of those days contained many able men who stamped their mark upon the future ; the District Officer was the Jack of all trades, though perhaps often master of none, the agent of some twenty departments, responsible for the management of jails, schools, dispensaries, road and ferry funds, the maintenance of village records and surveys, the assessment of the land revenue, the management of stamps and taxes, the solemnization of Christian marriages, and the Church Services on Sundays.

When it is remembered that these multifarious duties were interspersed with the daily trial of criminal charges and summary suits, the care of the Treasury, and the preparation of monthly, quarterly, and yearly returns and reports, it will be seen that the early Victorian District Officer had plenty of work on his hands ; and it may fairly be said that when the great revolt of 1857 arrived, it found the greater part of the service in those regions to which it extended, in possession of most of the strings of administration.

The officers of the bad class, often spoken of as the Company's hard bargains, could never have been very numerous, for the administration of the country proceeded with considerable success. From time to time, however, there were undoubtedly isolated cases of misconduct and negligence. For example in 1812 when the Prince Regent insisted on appointing Lord Moira to the Government of India, that nobleman, before leaving England, met at dinner in London a Mr. B. then on furlough and contemplating retirement from the service on the completion of his leave. Interested in Mr. B.'s accounts of his experience, the Governor-General elect asked if he could not be induced to return to India : and it was finally agreed that Mr. B. was to resume his place in the service, on a salary of rupees five thousand per mensem. Unhappily when they arrived in India no such post was for the moment available, and the only thing that could be done for Mr. B. was to make him Commissioner of Customs at Mirzapore with a salary somewhat less than what he had stipulated for. The duties of his office consisted

chiefly in signing permits, while he pulled at his after-breakfast *chillum* : but he declared that for four thousand a month he could not afford to write his full name ; and during his tenure of office the papers continued to be attested by nothing but the initials R. B. B. This statement rests upon the testimony of the late Mr. Ralph John Taylor, who added that when the Governor-General on an official tour came up the river Ganges, his house boat struck on a sand bank opposite the Commissioner's compound, but the offended Mr. B. resolutely refused to extend any sort of hospitality to His Excellency.

A little later there was a Collector at Cawnpore, who may be indicated by the letter R., the initial of his name. This gentleman having lost a considerable sum of money at cock-fighting to a neighbouring Nawab, was imprudent enough to make payment out of the 'public Treasury in his charge, and the sum was entered by the clerks in what was then known as "the inefficient balance." The attention of the Board of Revenue falling on this item, one of their members repaired to Cawnpore to examine Mr. R.'s accounts : and the unfortunate Collector, instead of waiting to explain matters and make provision for replacing the defalcation, lost heart and fled secretly from the station with his wife. Hastening to his friend, the Nawab, he stated his difficulty and obtained from him a farm on which he proceeded to cultivate indigo. A proclamation was issued by the Government offering a reward for Mr. R.'s discovery and apprehension, but although military officers from the nearest British station continued to visit Mr. and Mrs. R. on their newly-acquired estate, the Government could obtain no trace of his whereabouts until he was murdered one evening by a neighbouring zemindar with whom he had got in a boundary dispute, and the widow repaired to Lucknow, where she sought the protection of the British Resident, another member of the Service, who made her his wife. This gentleman also came to grief : for he had for some time been in the habit of receiving unlawful gifts from the King and other nobles of the Kingdom of Oudh, and these malpractices coming to light in a very curious way, was compelled to retire from the service. It appears he had been in the habit of transmitting his regular gain to Europe through a house

in St. Petersburg which ultimately failed. On hearing of this the Russian Minister in London mentioned the fact apologetically to Lord John Russell, who immediately communicated it to the Board of Control : an enquiry was instituted and the erring Resident had to leave the Service : a remarkable experience for the lady who thus became intimately connected with two unfortunate samples of the Indian Civil Service. Cases of actual corruption and embezzlement were not indeed of frequent occurrence, though it is related that when Lord William Bentinck was on a tour of inspection and asked a certain Collector what he made by his post, was met with the startling answer from the irritated official, " Every dammed *pie* I can."

Instances of the most remarkable eccentricity were not rare. Thus, a district officer in the Upper Provinces, the bearer of two names illustrious in jurisprudence and philosophy, was in the habit of holding office at midnight, sitting with his face to the wall and his back turned to the parties and spectators. A Lieutenant-Governor of those days was a mild gentleman, extremely averse to friction and scandal, but the flood of petitions from the District of this officer pouring continuously into the Government House at Agra, led to enquiries which resulted in the deputation of another officer to relieve Mr. M. On arrival at the station the new Collector proceeded to M.'s house, where he was received in a singular and most unsatisfactory manner : necessarily he had to carry out his instructions, and in the course of the day Mr. M. mounted a swift camel and made tracks for Bombay, where he took ship for Europe, and India saw him no more. Another case of a like nature was that of a well-born Scot, brother to a prominent member of Parliament, whose eccentricities in their turn attracted Governmental notice. This also was a district officer who, being a single man, took up his abode in his office, the floors of which were strewn with disarranged records. Among his peculiarities was an unusual impatience of heat ; and one particularly hot summer morning he emerged into the public room in a state of nature. The *Serishtadar* (the Clerk of the Court) courteously bringing to his notice that some trifling article of costume might be more becoming in his magisterial capacity, the district officer retired into his private apartments and quickly

reappeared with two sheets of 'newspaper pinned round his loins so as to hang down before and behind. When the Government at last plucked up heart and sent another officer to take his place, that gentleman (from whom it may be added the present writer derived his story) found the officer whom he was to relieve standing on the top of the office steps in a defiant attitude with a pistol in each hand. The relieving officer promptly retired, and obtained the support of a troop of horse from the Colonel commanding the station. Returning with this escort, he found that the Collector had reconsidered the situation, and departed without going through the formality of making over charge.

It would be no safer to take such cases as these for types, than it would be to judge the old nomination service by the respectable and orderly gentlemen, who gravitated to the centres of authority to rise in the Secretariat to become members of Council where their labours were not always regarded as wholly advantageous to the country.

The merits of the body will be best seen from the spirit and character of that far more numerous class who conducted the ordinary details of local administration.

Being for the most part men of good family accustomed from their boyhood to hunt and shoot, to rule stable boys and manage game-keepers, they brought to their duties just sufficient intelligence to enable them to put healthy vigour into routine work, and to rule men by personal influence. When the great storm broke upon Upper India it found a body of brave and simple-hearted gentlemen, not unprepared to cope with it. In the Punjab John Lawrence, ably seconded by Montgomery and McLeod, with lieutenants like Fred Cooper and George Ricketts, and many excellent military subordinates, kept the peace in the vast region extending from Peshawur to Paniput, and sent reinforcements to Delhi till the rebel city fell. In the adjacent province Spankie, Wallace-Dunlop, Sapte, Hume, Mayne, F. Gubbins, and others held their districts against overwhelming odds. Further south the energy of Robert Ellis saved Nagpore, and so prevented all danger of the conflagration spreading to the Deccan. Full details of their services may be found in Kaye and Malleson's concluding

volumes—as also in a little book especially devoted to the subject published some thirty years after the event.\*

About forty per cent. of these officers fell during that terrible year, but their work was done. And be it remembered that it was not the work of the ordinary gentleman in high places at the Presidency : for indeed they long misread the signs of the times, and led poor Lord Canning into more than one serious error, until he went up-country and saw things with his own eyes.

These facts went far to justify the remark of old Mr. Tucker when Chairman of the Court of Directors at the time of the discussion of 1813. Hearing of the proposal of Lord Grenville, this veteran expert observed that he saw no necessity for the change : he quoted Goldsmith, and said you did not want razors with which to cut blocks. The moral appears to be that wherever there are blocks to cut, axes will still be found more useful than razors : but where civilised life has become established there will be a need for more delicate instruments. It will be the duty of Britain to provide men for both classes of employment. The capacity of Asiatics for receiving instruction when young is so remarkable as to make it very probable that if the examinations come to be held in India, the majority of the future civil servants will be natives of India. Should it be thought that this would be dangerous to the establishment of European principles and methods, there is but one alternative.

The Civil Service in its present form should be discontinued, and the administrative posts allotted to men selected by the Government on the spot, from the ranks of the uncovenanted officials, the members of the local Bar, and the officers of the Indian army. For judicial work, especially in important commercial centres, trained lawyers would be undoubtedly preferable to the present District Judges who must of necessity be more or less amateurs until they have learnt their work by making many blunders and—so to speak—by vivi-section. The ordinary district work might often be entrusted to men who had qualified as Deputy Collectors : but for important executive posts,

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\* "57." *Some account of the Administration of Civil districts During the Revolt of the Indian Army* by H. G. Keene. W. H. Allen & Co. 1883.



such as Commissionerships and Frontier charges, nothing could surely compare with the class once represented by Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munroe, Sir Henry Lawrence, and Sir Herbert Edwardes.

Unquestionably as it has raised the general level of acquirements, the system of recruiting the Indian Civil Service now in force is open to objections, some of which have apparently hindered its adoption by other countries than our own.\* Although it has tended to save the country from occasional scandals, it has perhaps at the same time reduced the number of chances that formally existed of obtaining men of exceptional merit. On the other hand it can hardly be described as an "open competition," since it excludes several classes from which great advantage might accrue to the public service.

Moreover, competition has not yet produced scholars of the calibre of Colcbrooke, Muir, Elliot or Hodgson; neither has it turned out more able administrators than Elphinstone, Thomason, and Lawrence, or leaders of men like the gallant dunces of the Mutiny. Still less has it yielded great Asiatic statesmen such as Dinkar Rao or Salar Jung. Axes are as much needed as razors for the varied work of the service, and the net must be spread wide which seeks to take in all manner of fishes.

H. G. KEENE.

## Art. II.—THE RELIGIOUS FUTURE OF INDIA.

INNUMERABLE letters have, from time to time, appeared in various newspapers all over India on the subject of Hindu social and religious reform. As these are almost invariably on the lines of what are, undoubtedly, the outward and visible signs, as well as the credentials of the motive power of Christianity, one is sometimes inclined to make a forecast of what the religious future of India will be. It goes without saying that from the standpoint of one who believes the Bible to be the Word of God it will be Christianity. But this dictum will not generally be accepted either by Hindus or by Christians who have not come under the power of Christianity as generating a self-conscious spiritual life, or are distinctly hostile to it. The question will, therefore, be considered from the standpoint of historical analogy and the present enlightened condition, generally, of the Indian people. At the birth of Christ, the Roman Empire bulked in the eyes of the world. From obscure beginnings it extended from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, and from the Sahara to the German Ocean. It trod down the nations with whom it came into contact, creating a desolation and calling it peace. It inherited all the good traditions of political and civil government of the great nations which had preceded it, as well as their worst practices, developing the former to a degree which is acceptable, more or less, at the present time, and adding to the atrocities of the latter. The Colossal Empire was that beast of Daniel, "diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron and his nails of brass, which devoured, broke in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet;" a combination of godless genius with unrestrained savage strength. It appropriated the philosophies which descended to it as the heritage of the past, and supplemented them; the idolatries of the defunct nations, as well as those of Greece, which still existed as a dependency, were assimilated, and the amours of the deities illustrated by statues, mouldings, castings, and paintings provocative of the worst passions in the

human heart. Every one of these was a direct appeal to carnality.

Slavery, in a form that never existed before and never since, was a formidable institution, and played an important part in eventually wrecking the Empire; it destroyed the virility of the nation and made it an easy prey to the rigorous barbarians of the north. Debauchery was rampant in every home in Rome, in which there were more slaves than free men and women, and the murder of a slave attracted as little attention as the crushing of a reptile. There was no belief in a future state, and this led, inevitably, to a life of self-gratification, "let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die;" little value was attached to life if it was at all enjoyable; hence suicide to escape disgrace was a commendable act.

This great cultured but wicked Empire was in existence when Christianity was introduced, and although the early pioneers, and the late converts of the faith were hated, despised and destroyed by hundreds of thousands, with a cruel ingenuity which could only have been suggested by the evil one, especially under Nero, Trojan, Decius and Diocletian, the teachings and short public life of three years of an obscure Jewish young man sapped the foundations of a heathenism, which was a masterpiece of the great enemy of the human race, and brought it down to the ground. In course of time Christianity conquered all Europe, and wherever it has since established itself in all parts of the world, its tenets have produced precisely the same results, *i.e.*, humane laws, strict justice combined with mercy, the sacredness of life, the education of the masses, personal and political freedom, social order, the elevation of woman, care of children, of the poor, and of the suffering.

This religion is becoming more active and stronger than ever. Its regenerating power among European nations has this marked feature, which reveals its latent potentialities—that their civilization is finely graded to the extent of Christian truths adopted by the politician, the soldier, the man of commerce, the workman, and in the homesteads of the people. Another singular feature of Christianity is that, whereas in the year 1600, eight per cent. only of the inhabited surface of the

earth was occupied by Christian nations, the proportion occupied in 1894 was eighty-five per cent ; that is to say of 53,401,400 square miles, Christian nations are in possession of 45,619,100, and they are governing the non-Christian peoples residing therein, on Christian principles. Then there are "spheres of influence" and "protectorates," in which the native rulers are educated how to govern their subjects.

Christianity is pre-eminently a missionary religion, it is the genius of that religion to make its precepts known to all mankind, and establish the brotherhood of the whole human race. Cultivated men and women, by the thousand, of good social status, have expatriated themselves and gone to martyrdom among savages to proclaim the truth. It is the spirit of *the Man of the ages*; the Christ of the Gospels. It is not an unfair deduction from all this, that Christianity is *not* a decadent faith. The verdict of all who know anything of its history and achievements in the past and in the present must be so, however ungraciously it may be given by those who are not in sympathy with it.

How it will affect Hinduism is the question proposed to be discussed in this paper. It is difficult, if not impossible, to reduce modern Hinduism to a homogeneous system, as it is so complex. It is as elastic as elasticity itself—idolatry, occultism, philosophical disquisitions as to the nature of God and His manifestations, to man's inner consciousness and in nature round about, all find a home in Hinduism. As for the two cults of *Vishnu* and *Siva*, who with *Brahma* form the *trimurti*, or trinity, their principles are diverse.

The earliest religion of India appears to have been Vedic, *i.e.*, the conception postulated in the Vedas of an impersonal God—a universal spirit pervading all things—and the resultant worship of the elements of nature, accompanied by sacrifices not as an atonement for sin, but to conciliate the gods for the double purpose of escaping their curses and meriting their favours. Another tenet of Brahmanism was the emanation of the soul from the all-pervading *Intellect* and its eventual re-absorption.

*Vedism* was succeeded by *Buddhism* which has much that is commendable. It denies the existence of a Supreme Being

but recognizes a Supreme Power, of which matter is its manifestation. Its cardinal doctrine is the pessimism that human existence is itself an evil, but that that evil, springing as it does from ignorance, may be remedied by the acquisition of knowledge. The theory of emanation and *Nirvana* find a place in the system; the latter signifying a condition of oblivion in re-union with the all-pervading Intellect, that has no relation to matter, space or time.

H. H. Tilbe, Professor of Pali in the Rangoon Baptist College, holds that in a broad, popular sense Buddhism is, of course, a religion, but that, according to a true definition of the word, or any pure technical use of the term, Buddhism is not a religion, but "simply, an atheistic system of philosophy and ethics."

Buddhism, which had superseded Brahmanism, was in turn overthrown by the Brahmins, and a Pantheistic monotheism—known as *Vedantism*, was evolved by subtle metaphysical philosophies—illusivè in their *finesse*.

\* In natural sequence, Vedantism passed first into polytheism and then into idolatry, for the passionate cry of the human heart has ever been "Oh that I knew where I might find Him." Seeing that God is in everything, it is only a reasonable deduction that every natural or manufactured object may be worshipped as such, and so it comes to pass that India has to-day thirty-three crores of gods and goddesses. A few of these are major deities who are accorded the allegiance and homage of all, the others being only tribal or local.

The Christian conception of sin is subjective, "out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, etc.;" the Hindu mind, however, is prone to pass this by as not of much account, in impairing character. Under the spell of caste, its social distinctions are more binding than those of religion, as Europeans understand it.

An infraction of a caste rule is mortal sin, any other delinquency is a condonable infirmity; it is the body that sins, if at all, and with the death of the body the sins vanish.

The cultured exponent of Vedantism, the late Swamy Vivekananda took up even a more extreme position when he said that "to think that we are capable of sin is the greatest of sins."

For the first time in a period of probably three thousand years, India finds itself in environments which are *sui generis*. It has been brought into intimate contact with one of the best types of Western civilization, and with a religion founded on the two Divine mandates, "thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart" and "thy neighbour as thyself."

The injunction "love your enemies" was foreign even to Judaism, of which Christianity is but a development, as it contravened the popular conception of one's relation to one's enemies, *i.e.*, to return hate for hate, and take reprisals in the form of "an eye for an eye" and "a tooth for a tooth." The mandates quoted stand in the relation of cause and effect.

Wouldst thou the life of spuls discern,  
Nor human wisdom nor divine  
Helps thee by aught beside to learn  
Love is life's only sign.

The light of Western education, British Christianity, and philanthropy has, for the last sixty years or more, been steadily and in increasing volume streaming through avenues too numerous to detail—into the intellect and conscience of every class of the nation, and has even found its way into the penetralia of the *senana*. In addition to the religious atmosphere created, India is bound politically with England, in whose state among the nations of the earth and in whose fortunes she shares, as the "brightest gem in the British Crown." Her fiscal and commercial life has merged into that of the whole world. As for the intellectual life of educated India, it presents the remarkable phenomenon of having fallen into line with that of Western nations—the Anglo-Saxon in particular. The English language, with its inexhaustible literature, has become the heritage of the people; they discuss all questions under its inspiration; their numerous contributions to science, in all its branches, are of a high order, and the contributors have been cordially admitted into the fraternity of European *savants*. The two branches of the Aryan race are thus bound together, for good or evil, by indissoluble ties.

The inevitable result, as might be expected in the case of a highly intellectual religious and critical race is, that a great

\* *Keble.*

transformation is taking place in their attitude towards Christianity as well as towards the religion of their forefathers, which is beginning to be looked upon as an anachronism in the current century. The cry of educated India, resentful, despairing, sympathetic, or jubilant, as the case may be from the standpoint of its several sections is *tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur cum illis*.

Reference has been made to "British Christianity," but it will be understood that the Christian religion is taught only in mission schools and that missionaries are not in any sense the agents of the Government. Religious neutrality in Indian politics is not only a necessary condition in the present circumstances, but the wisest policy, as it conserves the highest interests of personal well-being. It is doing what compulsion could never have accomplished.

Most, if not all, Government enactments are based on the eternal principles of justice, charity, truth, and humanity, and although the teaching in Government schools and colleges is neutral, its prevailing spirit and general influence are Christian; and that the essentially religious basis of British civilization has not been overlooked, is manifest from the great struggle that is taking place, on the subject between liberalism on one side and conservatism and obscurantism on the other. All are agreed, even the rulers of the land, that religious instruction of some sort should be imparted in the schools as mere secular education does not turn out orthodox Hindus, nor make for good citizenship. But it is a moot question what the nature of that instruction should be.

An expurgated, even a much expurgated edition of the Hindu scriptures, would probably be found to be unacceptable, as the beliefs of the pupils would be found to be as divergent as their castes and sub-castes; though this is claimed to have been done by the Theosophical Society. A series of three textbooks are said to have been compiled setting forth the Hindu religion so that it could be taught in schools, and be accepted everywhere.

Professor R. P. Paranjpye, the only Indian senior wrangler, who passed out from Cambridge a few years ago, and is now the Principal of the Poona Fergusson College, in a

trenchant article in *East and West*, declaims against "Religious education in India." The following quotation summarises his reasons for doing so:—"In this age, when Western ideas are being grafted on Eastern minds, there is sure to be, in some cases, a disturbance of mental equilibrium. Those of our people who have imbibed Western ideas are sure to reject many of the moral standards of their forefathers. This is a perfectly natural result. . . . It is not the right thing to confine our young men forcibly to the old way of thinking, but to let their intellects have free play. In so many ways do modern ideas overtake young minds that it is next to impossible to ward off their influence by a few minutes of religious instruction every day. The only effect that is possible is intellectual hypocrisy. We shall only have numerous prototypes of the child for whom the earth went round the sun while at school, and the sun round the earth when at home. We shall have our young men ready to deliver learned lectures on the precession of the equinoxes and calculate the exact time of the eclipses, and then come back to their houses to propitiate the demons who eat up the moon or the sun. Such beliefs are altogether impossible for young men. But the atmosphere created by religious education is such that these practices come to be regarded as integral constituents of right conduct. Obviously, the terms religion and Hinduism are convertible with Professor Paranjpye, and one may be pardoned for inferring from this limitation that he is a covert or an unconscious advocate of Biblical teaching in schools.

It is as undesirable as it is foreign to the intention of one who is a Christian and of the British race, to set his own valuation on the merits of Hinduism; to estimate the extent of the attrition it has undergone in its contact with Christianity, or to make a forecast of the ultimate effects of the manifest divorce from it of a large and increasing number of English educated Hindus. He will therefore allow them to speak for themselves in the quotations which will hereafter be made from journals conducted by them, or from their public speeches. It should here be noted that a careful selection has been made from a mass of such declarations only of those expressed in moderate terms; there are others that are startling in their vehemence



To draw conclusions from those statements is, however, quite permissible.

Before proceeding to consider the movements of the several parties of reform, reference will be made to four others.

(a) *The Agnostics and Atheists* turned out of Government institutions, in which definite religious teaching is not provided for; these sneer at Christianity as effete and discredited, even in Christian lands.

(b) *The hostile, Orthodox party*, one of whose resentful statements is extracted from a Tamil tract. "Hindus awake, or you are lost! How many thousands of thousands have these missionaries turned to Christianity. On how many more have they cast their nets? If we sleep as heretofore, in a short time they will turn all to Christianity, and our temples will be changed into churches. Is there no learned Pandit to be secured for money who will crush these Christians? How long will water remain in a reservoir which continually lets out, but receives none in? Let all the people join as one man to banish Christianity from our land."

(c) *The party in sympathy with Christianity and who politely depreciate the Shastras.*

Prior to the departure from Mysore of Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., the new Dewan of Travancore, the missionaries of the province congratulated the Dewan elect on his elevation and wished him good-bye. Mr. Madhava Rao in reply said:—"Gentlemen, you know well how great is my admiration for English civilization, which means Christian civilization which has done so much for India. It is the fashion sometimes with some of our young men, and I think they are to some extent right, to say that everything that Christianity may bring to us is to be found, more or less, in our own religious books. But they forget that our religion has lost much of its vitality and has failed to influence conduct either personally, socially, or politically. It is to the impact of fresh civilization, and the operation of vivifying and vigorous ideas, that we owe the re-awakening that is to be found from one end of India to another. It is to Christian influences that we are indebted for the revival of the Hindu religion in the form of the Brahmo Samaja, and there have been other revivals also more or less

over the country. Even as regards European civilization and progress, it is, I believe, no less an authority than Benjamin Kidd who says that the impelling force of modern progress is to be found in the cardinal principles of Christianity. As I said before, as far as India is concerned, we should have been moving in the old lines and in the old grooves but for the new ideas brought by the Missionaries. I will instance only a few points regarding which our conceptions have been recast and elevated in the light of the new religion. At least these ideas could not have been got in such an emphatic form from our own religion and our own past civilization. Where can we find ideas about the sanctity of human life, about the dignity of man, and about the equality of all men before the Law but in the Christian Scriptures, made familiar to us in the English Laws under which we live, and in the philosophy and poetry of the West? Another idea that we owe to Christianity is the respect due to women. For all these we owe a debt of gratitude to the missionaries. They have been the pioneers of education in this country. They have brought us fresh ideas, they have given us higher conceptions of life and our duties and responsibilities as citizens and as men."

A Hindu judge, in urging that an Anglo-Vernacular School should be placed under the care of a missionary, gives the following reasons for his recommendation :—

- "My friends, I was not educated in a mission school, but I have many friends who were, and who studied the Bible daily in those schools. I have witnessed the effect upon their lives; I have read the Bible myself privately a great deal. I have come to know the pure and beautiful systems of morality it inculcates. There is nothing in our Vedas that can compare with it, as I well know from careful examination. Let your sons study the Bible, they need not become Christians, there is no compulsion about it, the missionaries never force any one. But if you want your sons to become noble, upright men, put this school under the charge of the missionary and have the Bible taught in it daily; it will make your sons better men, and you will be the happier parents."

(d) *The Iconoclasts of Hinduism and modern Hindu Institutions.*

The following denunciation of Mrs. Besant's raptures over the beauties of Hinduism, is culled from *The Reis and Rayyet*, an orthodox Hindu paper of Calcutta :—

"When an English lady of decent culture professes to be an admirer of Tantric mysticisms and Krishna worship, it behoves every well-wisher of the country to tell her plainly that sensible men do not want her eloquence for gilding what is rotten. In fact, abomination worship is the chief ingredient of modern Hinduism."

The Brahmin editor of the *Daily Hindu* of Madras, delivers himself of the subjoined diatribe :

"The glory has departed out of our religious institutions, and what once contributed to purify the minds of millions of men and women is now the grovelling ground of some of the most ignorant and wretched of human beings. The vast majority of the pious endowments are corrupt to the core. They are a festering mass of crime and vice and gigantic swindling. The Brahman priesthood is the mainstay of every unholy, immoral, and cruel custom and superstition in our midst, from the wretched dancing girl who insults the Deity by her existence, to the pining child-widow whose every tear and every hair of whose head shall stand up against us on the Day of Judgment."

It will have been seen from what has already been said that, the Indian mind is undergoing a metamorphosis in its religious apprehensions. It is perceived that the Hindu Scriptures, in all their entirety, do not contain a proper presentment of the true nature of God, the proper relation of mankind to Him and of man to man ; the method of approaching God, and the form His service should take ; and that therefore Hinduism should be recast so as to be abreast with the aspirations and religious requirements of an awakening people. The revival has taken three forms :—

#### *I.—Arya-Somajism.*

Not failing, in common with many of their compatriots, to perceive the progressive decadence of Hinduism, there is, notwithstanding, an orthodox party who are still following it with pathetic, if unreasoning fidelity, while others, with the instinct of mourners are labouring to stave off the desolation of the

future by the ardour of their affectionate service to the departing object of their love. They believe in one God (though the doctrine is not traceable in the *Vedas*), the transmigration of souls; the eternity of the soul, of matter and of the *Vedas*; rejecting idol worship, sacrifices, and the caste system. Bitterly hostile as they are to Christianity, nevertheless in thus endeavouring to re-habilitate their ancient faith by purging it of what is inconsistent with their educated moral perceptions, they are reading into their Scriptures conceptions obviously borrowed from the Bible, hoping thereby to prevent Christianity from spreading any further. But independent men reading the *Vedas* for themselves are likely to look askance at the Arya-Somajist who is trying the difficult experiment of sitting on two stools at one and the same time.

Loth to give up their ideals of God, and the nature of His claims upon the allegiance and service of His intelligent creatures, they are almost unknown to themselves, though visibly to those who consider them carefully, steadily engraving upon Vedantism the practices of Christianity, expecting to assimilate the external features and developments of that religion without accepting its doctrines and practice. This is like appropriating the luscious fruit of an overhanging branch from a neighbour's orchard, without growing the tree itself.

## II.—*Brahmo-Somajism.*

This cult would not have been possible if Christianity had not reached India. It is a theism somewhat similar to European Unitarianism. The terminology of the Bible, such as repentance, faith, redemption, grace, sanctification, etc., is freely used; and Biblical language is largely made the vehicle, by the ministers of the religion for expounding and emphasizing the creed and conduct of the Society, which claims that all the potentialities of individual and national progress may be found in revived Hinduism, that is to say, Brahmoism.

Excepting the essential divinity of Christ and His sacrificial atonement, His teachings are accepted as superhuman, especially those conveyed in the "Sermon on the Mount," and His life, of comparative asceticism, is accounted as of the highest order. But Krishna is placed on a level

with Christ, and substituting the latter for the former, the homilies of the Brahmo clergy might well be accredited to Christian ministers. Their commendation of the Bible, the New Testament more particularly—has led the laity to study it to a degree which probably they would never have been induced to do, at the solicitation of a Christian. This must in the near future, lead to the acceptance of Christianity by many of them. The trend towards Christianity is openly acknowledged by such leaders as the Rev. Protap Chunder Moozamdar and the eventual mergence of Brahmoism into it, unhesitatingly avowed.

In his open letter to Bishop Weledon, late Metropolitan of India, the gentleman named says :—"The Christianization of India is not an unfamiliar subject with certain classes of educated Hindus, and by no means an indifferent and undesirable one. Raja Ram Mohun Roy was the father of educated India, and the pioneer of every kind of wholesome reform. In the first document which he ever drew up, he discusses the future of his country ; and amidst five things which he says must make for the future, he enumerates the Christianization of India as a principal one. Keshub Chunder Sen, who in more recent times represented educated Hindus, as few did, often spoke of the 'Church of Christ in India' and pointed out to his vast audience that they had already accepted Christ in their hearts, though they did not know it." \* \* \* The spirit of Western religion which Christian propagandists, mainly within the last century, have introduced into this country, has, I am glad to admit, considerably educated our better classes. It has unconsciously infused itself into our public schools and colleges, which however neutral in their teaching, are in their source and influence, directly or indirectly Christian. That cannot but in the long run tell. In the education of intelligent alien races such influences, I submit, are really more efficacious than direct religious education which has to be more or less aggressive. They have heightened the moral tone of our educated men ; they have inoculated into them a noble public spirit which has borne fruit in many social and patriotic activities ; they have even leavened the torpid lump of orthodox Hinduism, and created a seething ferment of Hindu

revivals in all directions. *What all this will resolve into remains to be seen, but whatever it be in its name and form, I am convinced that the religion of Christ shall fully permeate it, and determine its essential character.*"

### III.—Theosophy.

Theosophy may in general terms be described as sublimated Hinduism. The *mantras* or invocations to various deities have from time immemorial been read, not with special attention to the sense, but to the *Rishis* or Saints who composed them, the deities to whom they are addressed, the subjects to which they relate, the rhythm or metre, and the purposes they serve, *i.e.*, the religious offices at which they should be used.

"The *Veda* is recited in various superstitious modes, word by word, either simply disjoining them, or else repeating the words alternately backwards and forwards, once or oftener."—*(Colebrooke.)*

Esoteric renderings are, however, now given of these Scriptures, but one cannot fail to perceive that they have been influenced by an antecedent acquaintance with the Christian Scriptures. Humanitarianism is strongly advocated, the particulars of which are assimilated to the precepts of Christ and his Apostles. He is acknowledged as a reformer, but his divinity and mediatorial work are rejected, the *Rishis* standing on a common level with him.

As might be expected from the Vedic basis of Theosophy, idolatry, creature worship and superstitious practices find a cherished place in it; and to be up to date they are defended by science misapplied. This will be perceived from the following extract from the correspondence column of a recent number of the *Central Hindu College Magazine*, which is conducted by the English lady Apostle of Indian Theosophy, Mrs. Annie Besant.

It is a remarkable instance of the persistence of indigenous ideals, despite the modifying influences of an exotic religion, and exotic science.

*Q.—Why do Hindus worship a monkey, Hanuman, seeing that monkeys are lower than men?*

*Ans.*—You say that a Christian asked you this question, which at once shows ignorance and desire to give pain.

Hanuman was a Deva, who took the form of a monkey in order to help Shri Ramachandra. This is plainly stated in the *Ramayana*. Hindus are not so conceited as to suppose that the human form is the only one in which the Shining Ones can appear.

*Q.—Why do we shave when a relative dies?*

*Ans.*—Magnetism clings very much to the hair, and by shaving the hair off, the magnetism is removed. A good deal of bad magnetism is contracted in connection with a death, and the shaving removes it.

*Q.—Is there any benefit in putting on ashes, and if so what?*

*Ans.*—Ashes obtained from homa [sacrifice] have a certain magnetic value, the value varying with the knowledge and purity of the person who performed the sacrifice. Ashes or any other object magnetised by a very advanced spiritual person have a highly protective effect; ordinary ashes need exert a very slightly protective influence."

Here again, would the writer of this article, quote Hindu opinion of the situation in which Theosophy finds itself. An editor says :—

"But Mrs. Besant's power lies not in these things. There is not a shadow of doubt in our mind that her power in India lies chiefly in her method of appeal and approach. She devotes herself almost entirely to the work of catering to the national and superstitious prejudices of the people. The evil which she is doing India to-day by her effort to rehabilitate old and decadent superstitions and worn-out customs is incalculable. In her lecture the other day she made an elaborate and absurd endeavour to support idolatry or image worship on the ground of magnetic influence imparted to the idol which renders it potent as an object of worship. In like manner she defended the ignorant use of Sanskrit on a certain application of a so-called scientific theory of sound. Now what charms the Hindu is to hear this Western woman (even though in her life she violates every Hindu principle of domestic and womanly propriety) giving a specious defence of those practices of his religion which he had already abandoned as untenable. And she does all this in the name of science! But a more ridiculous abuse and perversion of scientific data we never heard before.

nor do we expect to hear again. But they are specious enough and are so much in the line of Hindu wish, that even educated men drink in all that she says as if it were an eternal Gospel. Thus her influence is supremely bad in the land."

As to the *modus operandi* of the propagandists of Christianity, the Hindu judge already referred to has said, "they (your sons) need not become Christians, there is no compulsion about it, the missionaries never force any one." But they are held up to public contempt in the *Central Hindu College Magazine* for March 1904, in the following fashion. "One plan of perverting an educated boy is ingenious, if not very moral. He is advanced money for his education; his parents foolishly accept the apparently generous offer of aid; when he has taken his degree, pressure is put upon him to become a Christian; if he refuses, he is threatened with a suit for debt, and this at the very outset of his career is a terrifying menace. Thus a conversion is made and trumpeted far and wide."

There is a refreshing pugnacity about this which would be excellent, were it not that the object which provoked it is only a phantom. As an *ex-Christian* and one who was the wife of an English clergyman, one would have expected Mrs. Besant to have been better acquainted with the *morale* of her compatriots, in holy orders.

The question has often been asked: Is Christianity a failure in India? That great country, of which Dr. Draper in his intellectual development of Europe says, that it is the only one "which has the same religion now that it had at the birth of Christ"; it has been tried for 1,900 years and found to be a spiritual force, shattering old faiths, and raising degraded peoples to a high standard of civilization and moral grandeur; has it been played out now, and will it fail of accomplishing similar work in this land of the sun?

I shall endeavour to answer the question as briefly as possible, but I can only deal with the triumphs of Christianity, so far, from the Protestant standpoint, as I am not acquainted with the work of other branches of the Christian Church, which is co-extensive with that of which I am an adherent.

As usual, it first raised the lower strata of Society who became the observed of all observers; object lessons to the



more educated, conservative and prejudiced. Time was when conversions from the ranks of the most degraded of the people were sneered at ; but the high intellectual, moral, and in many cases, the social platform on which they stand to-day is compelling the respect of high caste folk, and is in itself a proof of the regenerating power of Christianity. Conversions have not, however, stopped there. Among the hundreds of thousands of Indian Christians there are men and women of the highest castes, one of whom is a Prince of the Kapurthala family, Sir Harnam Sing, a member of the Legislative Council of India. To name a few others ; one of the greatest original scholars modern India has produced, one who gained the confidence of the educated Bengalis to such an extent as to be elected President of the leading political Association in Bengal was no other than the late Dr. K. M. Bannerji, a Brahman convert to Christianity. In Babu Kali Churn Bannerji, another Brahman convert, the Bengal Presidency possesses a brilliant orator, and the Bengal Christian Community a most zealous and active worker for Christ. The Professor of Mental and Moral Sciences in the Presidency College, Madras, is Dr. Sathianadan, M.A., LL.D. (Cantab.), a Christian gentleman ; and the Western Presidency has its equally conspicuous converts and ardent Christian workers of both sexes. Then there are thousands who, in the words of the late Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, have already accepted Christ in their hearts, but shrink from making an open avowal because of the great sacrifice it would entail.

An army of Christians scattered all over the country having organisations (where circumstances will allow of it) similar to those obtaining in Christian lands, such as, churches, schools, an ordained ministry, lay evangelists, colporteurs etc. ; the millions of copies of the Scriptures in whole or in part ; and literally thousands of millions of pages of useful reading saturated with Biblical truths strewn throughout the length and breadth of the land, are daily displaying the doctrines of Christianity and the religious life of its followers before myriads of all sorts and conditions of men, women, and children. The powerful influence thus brought to bear on the masses is incalculable.

and is yielding fruit abundantly. It is computed that there are over a million of Protestant Christians alone in all India at the present time, fully one-third of whom became adherents during the past twenty years; the average annual increase during that period having been 16,000, as against 6,000 in previous years. But the latest statistics show that no less than 20,000 conversions occurred during 1903, and that the figure of the current year will be a much larger one. A dispassionate consideration of the religious situation, as sketched in this paper, would appear to lead to the conclusion that it will not need the decree of a Constantine to proclaim Christianity as the religion of India, but that it will establish itself as such, in the convictions and life of its teeming population by the time that the children of to-day become septuagenarians :—

R. A. BUTTERFIELD.

BANGALORE.

### Art. III.—WAS SUFISM INFLUENCED BY BUDDHISM?

IN his masterly *Literary History of Persia* Professor E. G. Browne cites the following passages from A. Von Kremer's *Culturgeschltliche Streifzuge auf dem Gebeite des Islams*. "Sufism proper, as it finds expression in the different Darvesh orders (which I sharply distinguish from the simple ascetic aim which already appeared in the earliest Christianity, whence it passed over into Islam,) arose essentially from Indian ideas, and in particular from that school of Indian philosophy known by the name of Vedanta," and again, "It appears indeed that Sufism took unto itself two different elements, an older Christian ascetic, which came strongly to the front even in the beginning of Islam, and the later, a Buddhist-contemplative element, which soon in consequence of the increasing influence of the Persians on Islam obtained the upper hand and called into being the Mystics proper of Islam. The former aim expressed more the Arabian character, the latter the Persian."

On this Professor Browne remarks, "Fully admitting the value and force of this distinction, I am not convinced that the existence of Indian influence has been satisfactorily proved. Persian studies have suffered much at the hands of Indianists and Comparative Mythologists and Philologists. We have good reason to be on our guard against the tendency of Indianists to trace everything, as far as possible to an Indian origin or to generalize about the Aryan genius. Long before Neo-Platonism came to the Arabs it was brought to Persia in the days of Nushirwan in the sixth century of our era and I confess that, so far as I can judge, Sufi Pantheism presents far more striking analogies with Neo-Platonism than, with either Vedantism or Buddhism, while historically it is much more likely that it borrowed from the first than from either of the two last."

Professor Browne's view is the one which has been held by most students of Sufism from Tholuck to Mr. Nicholson in his recent work on the *Diwan* of Shams-i-Tabrizi (the poetical name of Jalal-ud-Din Rumi.) But Von Kremer's view is still

maintained by scholars like Professor Goldzither of Budâ Pesth. He repeated it in a lecture lately delivered at that place, relying firstly on the argument that Neoplatonist influence could hardly have reached so far East as Balkh, in which city there was a large Buddhist settlement. He also laid stress on the fact that Muslims undoubtedly learned the use of beads from Buddhists. And he dwelt much on the analogies afforded by the "Path" (Tariqat) Contemplation, and the supposed identity of Nirvana and the Sufi Fana or Absorption and Self-annihilation. I should be the last to undervalue the worth of any opinion put forward by this eminent scholar who has thrown so much light on the ruling ideas of Islam, and the influences brought to bear on its development, but I may perhaps venture to offer some considerations which seem to me to bear out the older view of the sources of Sufism held by me from the time of Tholuck.

To begin, why should Neoplatonist doctrines not have reached Central Asia? These doctrines pervade the Philosophy of the Ikhwanu-s-Safa of Baghdad (see Dieterici's summaries of that work) and that of Avicenna of Khorasan who wrote in the eleventh century of our era (see Schmölders' *Documenta Philosophiæ Arabum*); the treatise of Jami of Khorasan on Necessary Being (see the Dhabistan) and the Sufi theological work Maqсад-i-Aqsa, translated by Jamal-ud-Din of Khwarizm, (see Palmer's *Oriental Mysticism*) to say nothing of the Gulshan-i-Raz written at Tabriz in 1317 A.D. (edited and translated by Whinfield).

Professor Goldzither's main position is thus laid down by himself, "We find an affinity between Sufism and the fundamental thoughts and the lessons of Buddhism. The tone of mind and the spiritual tendency of Sufism seem as if the Buddhist way of thinking had been transferred into the frame of Islam and adapted to it." (*Journal R.A.S.*, January 1904.) He does not of course ignore the fact that Sufism is a theistic religion, based on the ideas of God, the human soul, and existence after death, all of which are repudiated by Buddhism. But it may be asked, does not this radical opposition between the two systems raise a very strong presumption against the theory that Sufism has borrowed its "tone of mind and spiritual

tendency " from Buddhism? Both systems no doubt had their asceticism, their life of contemplation and their path to perfection with its stages. But the motives impelling the adherents of the two systems, the ends sought to be attained, were utterly different. The desire and the aim of the Buddhist was to shuffle off existence and have done with it for good and all. That of the Sufism was to attain to union (Wasl) with the eternally existing Being and to abide therein to all eternity. The term "contemplation" differed much in the mind of a Buddhist and in that of a Sufi. With the latter it was equivalent to the Greek "Theoria," explained by the Neoplatonists as Beholding God (*Theou orasis*), in fact the Beatific Vision of God. All these ideas were foreign to Buddhism. No doubt Buddhists have their "path," like the Sufis, but surely the nature of the path depends on the goal to which it led. This goal was utterly different in the two systems and the similarity of the name does not therefore prove the two "paths" to be identical. Names are one thing, the meanings they bore at different times are quite another thing. "Path" is a term found in many religious systems. Garcin de Tassy quotes some lines from a hymn in the old Paris Breviary—

"Ecce panis angelorum.

Factus cibus viatorum "

St. Bonaventura's "Itinerary of the Soul" and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* equally imply the idea of a path.

No doubt the Sufis got their beads, as all Muslims got theirs, from the Buddhists, just as Christians later on also got them from the Muslims at the time of the Crusades, but in neither case can it be assumed that any doctrinal tincture was conveyed along with the beads.

Moreover, there seems to be no satisfactory evidence that the Sufis considered themselves to have borrowed any doctrines from the Buddhists. 'Attar and Sharastani, both natives of Khorasan and living in the supposed centre of Buddhist influence, say nothing of any such influence. Sharastani wrote a history of Religions and Sects in the twelfth century A.D., but has next to nothing to tell about the Buddhists. (See Haarbrucker's German translation.) Jami, also a native of Khorasan and a voluminous writer on the Sufis, is equally in the dark about

the Buddhists. Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, the great Mystical poet, though born at Balkh in the thirteenth century A.D., is equally ignorant about his Buddhist neighbours. Indeed one of the earliest Sufis of Balkh, *viz.*, Shaiq, is said by 'Attar to have been present at a conference with the female saint Rab'ia in the second century of the Hijira (perhaps about 800 A.D.) in which the very un-buddhistic view was maintained that the "blows of the Lord (*i.e.*, Divine chastisements) are a blessing." This recalls Bacon's saying, "Adversity is the blessing of the New Testament," and certainly suggests rather Christian than Buddhist influence. Buddhists subject themselves to privations in order to destroy the lust of life, but would not welcome suffering on the ground that it rendered them more acceptable to a God.

It is urged that the final Sufi absorption into the Real Being (Al Haqq) is practically indistinguishable from the final Nonentity, the goal of the perfected Buddhist. The Real Being of the Sufis is defined in terms so highly abstract that it is in fact (it is said) a mere empty formula. Pure Being is pure Nothing. The Sufi Real Being or Al Haqq is represented by Jami, for instance, in his treatise on "Necessary Being," as above every name, individual, specific or generic, no attribute conceivable by human intellect being predicable of it. In fact, it is a mere empty formula (*Kenon eidos*). The answer to this argument is this. Catholic theologians draw a notable distinction between "Experimental" and "Doctrinal" mysticism. That is to say, between the emotional or spiritual experiences of individuals and the reasoned logical system deduced from such experiences by theologians. The emotional experiences are individual and personal, for the most part incommunicable and inexplicable to all who have not themselves felt them. They are therefore only vouched for to outsiders by their observed effects on the conduct and character of those who actually experience them. This is well brought out by Dr. James in his recent lectures on "Varieties of Religious Experience." On the other hand, the doctrinal system which aims at correlating and systematizing these mysterious experiences must, from the nature of the case, be expressed in the dry language of the reason, precise and

intelligible to all. For reason, in the common acceptation of the term, lays no claim to any such mysterious faculty as spiritual intuition (those who extend the term to include such intuition like Schelling, are in fact 'themselves Mystics.) The purview of ordinary reason is limited to conditioned, relative and phenomenal existence, and when it has to deal with the Absolute, it is at a loss to find ways of conceiving and expressing it. The oily way in which it can deal with such ideas as the essence of Deity and Divine operation on the soul is the "Via Negativa" as Dionysius, the so-called Areopagite, terms it. That is to say, by abstraction and negation. It can only say what God is not. It can only describe God or Absolute Being by negatives, and pronounce Him to be Infinite, Unconditioned, Incomprehensible, Ineffable, and so on. It can affirm that He is, but cannot define what His essence is. Thus Plato in a well-known passage of the "Republic," says that the Ideal Good is not existence, (*Ousia*) but beyond existence, *i.e.*, beyond the phenomenal existence perceived in the sensible world. Thus Basileides, a sincere though heretical Christian of the second century A.D., calls God non-existent (*oukon theos*) meaning that God did not partake of phenomenal existence but transcended it. (See Mansel's *Gnostic Heresies*) And Dionysius, the oracle of mediæval Mystics, calls God "Goodness above good" and "Existence above existence" of the conditioned kind which alone can be perceived and conceived by human intellect. But these confessions of the impotence of reason to grasp what transcends its limitations, by no means imply the affirmation of the non-existence of God. On the contrary, the strongest assertion of the unknowability of the Absolute is quite compatible with the conviction of the existence of the Absolute. Witness the "First Principles" of Mr. Herbert Spencer. Plato and his Christian followers, Basileides and Dionysius, only meant to say that God was exalted above finite and conditioned existence, such as we see and feel. They all were firm believers in the real existence of what Religion names God and philosophy the Absolute. Their language is no doubt puzzling to non-philosophical readers and has led some to rank Basileides at least with Gautama Buddha as an Atheist or Agnostic. Thus the Sufis

were forced, like other theologians, to define the Real Being (Al Haqq) or Deity in negative terms, but at the same time they strongly asserted its real existence.

And so their views are directly at variance with the Buddhist denial of eternal being in any shape.

Again in flat contradiction to the Buddhists, the Sufis asserted the fundamental identity (Wahdat) of the Deity with the ground of the human soul, and likened the process by which the soul, stripped of its personal consciousness, will, desires and passions, in order to attain that identity,—to the process of Abstraction (Tajrid) whereby reason ascends to the idea of God (See *Gulshan-i-Raz*, page 8 with note). In other words they thought "Fana," the extinction of the separate individual existence, analogous to the process of thought in reaching abstract concepts. Both led to the fundamental identity. There were Hegelians before Hegel.

If it be still urged that after all this Real Being "Al Haqq" seems a rather nebulous object on which to hang religious aspirations, it should be remembered that these dry logical definitions must not be divorced from the emotional experiences in which the essence of Sufism lay. Speculative theology is one thing; practical religion another. The Sufis filled up the void abstractions of their metaphysical theology by their spiritual intuitions and experiences and their inherited beliefs. They gave to the empty abstractions of their metaphysics the local and personal attributes of the Allah of the Koran. Thus they invested their "Al Haqq" with the attributes of love and wrath. As they phrased it, the Real Being was beautiful and merciful (Jamal) and at the same time terrible and awful (Jalal). They pictured man's relation to the Deity as that of a child to his father or that of a lover to his sweetheart. If some of these overbeliefs ill accorded with their metaphysical dogmas it may be replied that such inconsistencies are not confined to Sufis.

E. H. WHINFIELD.



#### Art. IV.—SACRED TREES OF THE HINDUS.

FERGUSSON in his *Tree and Serpent Worship* says:—  
“We can hardly wonder that in the early stages of human civilisation, the worship of trees may have assumed considerable importance. There is such wondrous beauty in the external forms of trees and so welcome a shelter beneath their over-arching boughs, that we should not feel surprise that in the early ages groves were considered as the fittest temples for the gods;” and continues “For buildings, for furniture, for implements of peace and war, and for ornament the wood was indispensable. In ancient times, it was from wood alone that man obtained that fire which enabled him to cook his food to warm his clothing, or to sacrifice to his gods. We can hardly feel astonished that the primitive races of mankind should have considered trees as the choicest gifts of the gods to men and believed that their spirits still delighted to dwell among their branches or spoke oracles through the rustling of their leaves.” Poets turned these into their accounts and embellished them in their verses so faithfully that many tales, and stories; current among the Hindus, bristle with allusions to plants possessing the souls of gods and men. The worship of trees, then, is not far from “Hero-worship.”

Human forms of Rama, Krishna, and others were the avatárs of gods on earth for special purposes. So the heavenly trees—*Mandáru*, *Párijátha*, *Devadáru*, *Kalpaka*, and others—under the refreshing shades of which the gods reclined and enjoyed, have their representatives on earth. These heavenly trees are *Káma-Pradás* (wish-yielders). The male and female elements of *Kalpaka*, now identified with *Nárikélu* or coconut palm and *Kadali* or plantain tree, were brought to earth along with *Párijáta* (*Nyctanthes Arbortristis*). The following Puranic incident explains how the descent of *Párijáta* on earth was brought about. Sage Narada once requested Krishna, as he presented him the flowers of *Párijáta* from the pleasure garden of Indra, to adorn the braid of Rukmini, his queen, with them. Thereupon Satyabháma, second in rank,

became envious, and got the tree planted in her garden, in order that Rukmini might envy her precious possession of the heavenly tree, after a successful war conducted by herself and Krishna against Indra for the tree.

Hindus, desirous of the speedy accomplishment of their wishes, celebrate a marriage ceremony between the cocoanut and plantain trees, and after due worship, give them away to a deserving Brahmin. Gold or silver models of these trees are also made by the rich for this purpose. *Phalás* (fruits) are presented on auspicious occasions. So when Hindus go to a temple, King, guru (preceptor) or friends and relatives on marriage occasions, cocoanuts with or without plantains are presented. And no auspicious ceremony is ever commenced without the offering of a cocoanut to the presiding deity. Cocoanuts are placed on Kalasams (pots) representing gods whose blessings are invoked on all religious occasions. Tender ones are favourites with god Ganesha (the Belly-God). They are invariably placed near bali (cooked rice offered to a departed soul on the tenth day after death) to quench his thirst. Cocoanut water of *Gaulipátra* (yellow species) is sacred to the gods and they are generally used in their Abhishéka (bath). The third marriage of a Hindu is celebrated with a plantain tree to avert the ill-luck of losing his wife again. Plantain leaves are sacred, and orthodox people do not take their meals on any other leaves.

*Devadāru* or *Deva-taru* (lit. tree of devas)—popularly believed to belong to the species of sandal—is sacred to Vishnu. The great temple at Jagannath is consecrated to the god in this log of wood, which according to the Puranas is the half burnt form of Krishna killed by a forester and originally found floating near the coast of Dwaraka, the modern Guzerat. But in some temples gods are made of brick mortar and pieces of *Devadāru* are placed inside as they are considered to sanctify the place. The blossoms of *Mandāru* (*Bauhinia purpurea*) are sacred to Vishnu, though red ones are not generally acceptable to him.

Coming to the trees of earthly origin, *Aswatha* or peepul (*Ficus Religiosa*) is sacred to the Hindus. Every orthodox

Hindu, whenever he sees a tree, bows to it repeating the following Sanskrit couplet :—

*Mūlatō Brahma rūpāya madyatō Vishnu rupinē  
Agrato Siva rūpāya vriksharājāya té namah,*

which means, "I bow to Thee, King of trees in whose roots, trunk, and branches, Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwar live (respectively)." The marriage of an *Aswatha* with a Neem tree (*Melia azadirachta*) is celebrated by Hindus desirous of begetting sons. The shadow of *Aswatha* falling on water makes it sacred, and it then acquires the dignified title of Thirtha (holy-water) and a bath taken therein cleanses one from all his sins. As Monday falling on a New Moon day is sacred to *Aswatha*, large crowds of Hindu women may be seen performing puja (worship) to the tree on that day. Brahmin priests may also be observed reciting mantras (hymns) and waiting to receive fruits, pulses, etc., given by the women after going round the tree no less than one hundred and eight times. Brahmacharis (bachelors of the three regenerate castes) always carry in their hands branches of particular trees. The rule is *Palasa* (*Butea Ponderosa*) for a Brahmin, *Aswatha* (*Ficus Religiosa*) for a Kshatrya and *Audumbara* (*Ficus Glomerata*) for a Vaisya. Each of these indicates that those who carry them are still religious students.

The Banyan or Indian Fig tree (*Ficus Indica*) which is also known in the Sanskrit literature as *Bahupāda* (the tree of many feet), is one of the sacred trees of India. As it generally vegetates in the crown of palm and eventually destroys it, it is invoked by the Hindus, so that it might break the heads of their enemies.\* God Vishnu is represented as lying down in the form of a child on its leaf during the final deluge of the universe. The Hindus are taught to believe that that leaf represents Lakshmi. Banyan symbolises wisdom or thought. Hence Rishis and Yogis resort to it for penance. *Aswatha* and Banyan trees are the haunts of evil spirits.

The Neem tree (*Melia azadirachta*), is sacred to the goddess Kāli or Sakti (power). The Hindus believe that the leaves of the tree have the power to ward off the effect of the "evil

\* Folkard's *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics*, p. 241.

eye." The belief of the Hindu in these is so deep rooted that he insists on having a few neem leaves in the hair knot of a pregnant lady as a Raksha (protection) when she travels. The neem bunches are largely used by the so-called Mantravádís who profess to drive away evil spirits and cure diverse ailments of children attributed to the "evil eye." As he repeats or chants mantras, he waves in front of the possessed person some Margosa leaves. Its leaves are also sacred to goddesses of epidemics, such as Mariamman for small-pox, Mahammári for plague, etc. Patients affected with such diseases keep with them a few twigs of Margosa tree and they are particularly enjoined to fan themselves with these leafy twigs. Turmeric and neem leaves are well ground into a paste which is freely smeared over the pustules of small-pox. When these epidemics break out, several of the non-Brahmin castes, whether they have taken vows or not, carry Karagams (Kalasams or pots representing these goddesses) on their heads in processions, after profusely adorning their persons with Margosa leaves. The Karagam is then presented to some one in an adjoining village, where also the worship and procession are gone through only to hand it over to the next village and so on. They all think that they have propitiated the goddess of the epidemic by this ceremony, and that their villages will be free from her ravages. The tender leaves and flowers of the neem tree are mixed with sugar, tamarind juice, and tender mangoes, and eaten by the Hindus on the new year's day—the first thing as they sit to their dinners.

The *Sami* tree (*Prosopis Spicigera*) is worshipped on Vijayadasami day (lit. the day of victory). Vijayadasami seems originally to have been observed by Kshatryas. They left their arms and weapons to rest during the rainy season and took them back on that day, after duly worshipping them, for the Digvijaya or the conquering the four quarters of the globe. The day was also observed by Káli who kept fasting during the nine preceding nights (Nava rathri) and took her arms on that day for the destruction of Mahishásura (The Buffalo-monster). The day is considered so sacred that any work taken in hand

on that day, it is believed, will terminate in unfailing success. Generally the ceremony of initiation to study (*Vidhyābhyāsa*) is celebrated on that day. Vijayadasami is also said to be the day of Vijaya or Arjuna, one of the five sons of Pandu. It is stated that the Pandavas, before they took back their arms that day, worshipped the Sami tree, on which they had kept their arms during their stay in Virata's Court in the thirteenth year of their exile. The event is celebrated even now by the great masses of the Hindus and is known as *Āyuda pūja* (worship of arms). Another Puranic story, current among the Hindus, which leads to the worship of the tree on that day is explained by the fact that Vishnu succeeded on that day in destroying an asura (demon) who sought refuge in the tree. Even now the event is commemorated by taking the Hindu god to a *Sami* tree and by throwing an arrow at it in honor of the event. This is known as *Pārvaté*.

The Sacred Fire for rituals is generated in one piece of *Sami* (the female element) by drilling a piece of *Aswatha* (the male element) into it and by churning the latter with a string passed round it. When the sacred fire is thus kindled and ready for sacrifice, *Samiths* or small twigs of *Aswatha* or of *Palāsa* (*Butea poudosa*), ghee, the juice of *Soma lata*\* (*sarcotemma aphylla*), etc., are offered to the gods through the fire after reciting propitiatory mantras. Different sizes and shapes of spoons known as *sruk*, *srava*, etc., used in sacrifices are made of *Aswatha* or *Audumbara* (*Ficus glomerata*). *Yūpasthambās* or posts to tie the sacrificial animals are made of *Aswatha*, *Audumbara* or *Sami* trees. *Yūpasthambās* of one or more sorts and the number of each are determined by the nature of the sacrifice. The power of god is transferred to, and worshipped in, a piece of *Audumbara* wood whenever any temple has to be rebuilt.

Betel or pepper leaves (*Piper betel*) and Areca nuts (*Areca catechu*) are the two essential offerings to the Hindu gods. The chewing of betel leaves, with slaked lime and slices of areca nuts is most highly esteemed by the Hindus on account

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\* The original *Soma lata* is not known. But in its stead this is generally used as one of its best substitutes. Watt's *Dictionary of Economic Products*, Vol. VI part 2, p. 477.

of its many properties or virtues. The offering of betel leaves and areca nuts to a new comer, whoever he may be, indicates good manners and the refusal to accept the same is considered rude. They are very freely distributed during marriages, social gatherings, and *conversazioni*. The peculiar custom of stealing a few young shoots of betel vine, observed by some of the gardeners who desire to plant it, is explained by the fact that Arjuna, one of the five sons of Pandu, did the same in heaven and brought to plant it for the first time on earth.\* The origin of betel leaves, areca nuts, and chunam or slaked lime is also narrated as follows:—Two friends once met, on a bank of a river, after long separation. The new comer seeing a woman bathing in it, requested his friend to bring about their union. She was his own wife and he did not know what to do. But as the friend's request had to be satisfied, he with a heavy heart returned home, and seriously informed his wife what he wanted. She was a Pathi Vrata (she who worships her lord as god) and so she consented to obey his commands. On the appointed day the new comer, as he entered the room, saw a sword there with his friend's inscription on, and enquired of the woman whose it was. She calmly replied that it belonged to her lord. He, then, took it in his hand, and as his friend's obligation flashed through his mind, dashed it deeper and deeper into his body. Fearing the consequences she committed suicide and when her husband saw next morning what had happened, he also followed suit. Then Párvati and Siva came to the scene, gave them life and conferred on them the boon which at once changed them into betel leaves, areca nuts, and chunam, as they requested that they must all live together and this explains why the three are used in chewing.

Bamboo (*Bambusa arundinacea*) signifies friendship. Hence Sanyásis (anchorites) carry a bamboo staff in their hands always. Bamboo baskets are used on marriage occasions. Pairs of winnowing baskets with rice, dhal, etc., are given away by women to Sumangalis (married women) in honour of Gauri, the consort of Siva and the Sacred Rivers for the

\* Folkard's *Plant Lore*, etc., p. 251.

continuity of their married lives. The Hindu bier is generally made of bamboos. But in the case of the orthodox and Agnihotris (those who daily worship the three sacred fires), *Agasai* (*Sesbania grandiflora*) and *Audumbara* (*Ficus glomerata*) are used. The story about the origin of the bamboo on earth is narrated as follows :—A brahmin girl, Murala by name, was by chance married to a sudra in the garb of a brahmin. The girl, ere long, found who her husband was : and as she entered a pyre, specially kindled by her for this purpose, she offered herself to god Vishnu. From her ashes the bamboo arose and Sri Krishna made a flute out of it, in recognition of her faithfulness. The flute is now known as *Murali* after her.

The plant *Caiatropis gigantia* and *súrya*, the sun, are known in the Sanskrit literature by the same name *Arka*. Hindus place the leaves of *Arka*, generally seven, on their heads and shoulders when they bathe on Rathasapthami day—the day of the sun's leaving the winter solstice for the higher or northern latitudes—in honour of *súrya*, the sun. Its flowers are favourites with god Ganésa and Siva. Cords made of its fibre are knotted and used as *Raksha* (protection) for children and are known in Tamil as *Mudi*—*Kayaru* (knotted string). It is considered holy to worship god Ganésa made of the roots of the white species of *Arka*. In olden days culprits were disgraced by being taken in procession through the streets with a garland of its flowers around their necks. Its twigs are used in exorcising the devil. The plant is also used as a substitute for a third bride like *Kadali* or the plantain tree. Hindus who have no chance of marriage at all but are desirous of entering *Grahastásrama* (the married stage) celebrate their marriage with *Arka* alone. In the *Sáma Veda* *Upákarma* (*ávani-avattam*) the Rishis are represented by handfuls of wet sand or mud on *Arka* leaves.

The grass *Dúrva* (*cynodon dactylon*) is sacred to the god Ganésa and hence it is largely used in his worship. On ordinary customary religious ceremonies the god Ganésa is represented by a cow-dung ball with a few blades of this grass on its top. It is also sacred to the vehicle of Kalki—*Lakshmi*, it is believed, will take the form of a horse and serve as a vehicle

to her lord—the coming Avatar of Vishnu. In olden days the grass in the mouth of a man or a warrior implied his surrender for protection. *Dúrva Homa* or a sacrifice of this grass is performed, as it is believed that he who invokes the gods with the offerings of this grass, which has a hundred roots and a hundred skins, will have his hundred faults condoned and his life prolonged for a hundred years. The plant, also figures among the eight items of worship, which form the arghya, the symbolic offering of Hindu hospitality.

*Kusa* or *Durba* (*Eragrostis cynosuroides*), the Vedic plant is very well known in Sanskrit literature as the foremost gem of sacrifices. It is eternally consecrated by a few drops of Amrita (immortal beverage) falling on it, which was brought from heaven by Garuda to liberate his captive mother: and hence the touch of its long pointed blades purifies all those who come in contact with it. Sage Válmiki purified the twin sons of Rama when they were born in his hermitage by the touch of *Kusa* and *Lava* (the front and hind part) of this grass and they were accordingly named after those parts. During the Solar or Lunar eclipses, which are periods of temporary pollution, pickles, chutnies, preserved for several months, are purified by the touch of this sacred grass. *Pavitra* (that which purifies) is a ring made of this grass and is generally worn by the Yajamána, or master on religious occasions. *Kusa* ring of two *Durbas* is worn on auspicious occasions, and that of three during funerals, sráddhas (annual ceremonies); etc. Some orthodox Hindus wear gold *Pavitra*, sometimes set with diamonds and rubies, in imitation of *Durba*, one of two, so that they may perform Deva-Rishi-Pitri tharpanams (pleasing of gods, sages, and manes by the offering of water) one of the daily observances of a Brahmin, without the difficulty of securing *Durbas* for the purpose. Without this grass neither marriages can be celebrated nor funerals performed, and without this neither gods, sages nor manes can be pleased, nor the sacred fire can be kindled. It may be rightly styled the magic wand of the purohit (priest) which unconsciously drains the master's purse.

The cotton plant (*Gossypium arboreum*) supplies threads for *Yagnópavita*, or the sacred thread, the wearing of which



renders the Brahmin fit to worship the Sacred Fire. Such a worshipper, it is believed, meets with unfailing success, as explained by the Vedic story that the Devas, as they had performed a sacrifice with Yagnópavitam when they were opposed to Asurás, were successful in the great war between them. The gift of cotton pleases one of the servants of Yama, the magistrate of the dead, and hence it is considered unholy to accept it. *Kankanabandanam* (the tying of cotton thread with a little wool as a Raksha or protection round the right wrists of bride and bridegroom) is the initial ceremony of marriage. Water dripping from a piece of cloth (*Vásódaka*) is offered to Préta, the dead body, to quench the thirst of the departed soul. A thread, from the cloth worn by the Yajamána, or master, is used to ornament the Pindas, rice balls offered to the manes, for it is believed that they are pleased with it. The so-called Mantravádís tie with certain incantations a thread around the wrist of a patient suffering from the sting or bite of poisonous insect or animals. On all auspicious occasions a new cloth is generally worn.

Basil or *Thulasi* (*Ocimum sanctum*) is one of the products obtained from churning the Milky Ocean. Lakshmi is believed to live in the plant and hence it is sacred to Vishnu. He will not accept worship if it is unaccompanied by this herb. The origin of Thulasi on earth is explained as follows. Once an Asúra or demon, whose wife Brinda's chastity gave him strength, began to ravage all the three worlds. So Vishnu is said to have molested her modesty before he engaged her husband in battle and killed him. The woman, on hearing Vishnu's duplicity in her affairs, entered a funeral pyre. Vishnu, in atonement for his sin, lay in her ashes for four months—Cháturmása, a period of remorse. At the request of Lakshmi, Saraswattie, and Parvati, Vishnu rose from his slumber on Uttána dwádasi day (the day of rising). The three goddesses then in commemoration of Brinda's chastity planted *Amakaka* (*Phyllanthus emblica*) and *Thulasi* trees in her ashes. The planting of these two trees is observed by Hindu women on Uttána dwádasi day and they are worshipped for the continuance of their chastity. Since

this advent, the *Thulasi* plant is worshipped by Hindu women in every household daily, and especially during *cháturmása*. The plant is nursed by the housewife every day in a quadrangular masonry structure about two or three feet high and a foot and a half broad. It is known as *Brindávan* (vana or forest of Brinda) after Brinda. As Vishnu prizes *Thulasi* above all things, every *dánam*, or gift is accompanied by it. Sage Narada one day, in order that he might preach to the world the value of *Thulasi* and her worship, told Satyabháma that the giver of a gift in one birth will be the recipient of the same in the next. As he expected she made a gift of her lord, Krishna, to Narada so that the self-same Krishna may be her lord in her next birth. She then realised her own folly and requested Narada to suggest a ransom to release Krishna from his bondage. He consented to set him at liberty for his weight in gold. Satyabháma, then, put all her jewels and those of her co-wives, except those of Rukmini, in one scale pan and Krishna in the other. But Krishna was heavier. And when Satyabháma approached Rukmini for help, she was worshipping the *Thulasi* plant. Rukmini, as she was an incarnation of Lakshmi, understood what was wanted, and so took a *Thulasi dala*, or bunch from the plant and repaired in haste to the harem of Satyabháma. Rukmini is said to have placed the bunch instead of her jewels and the scales at once, to their great wonder and amazement, turned the other side. Krishna was then found to balance with *Thulasi* alone when all the other jewels were removed from the scale pan one after another. Narada, then, sang in praise of *Thulasi* in the three worlds. Beads of *Thulasi* stem are strung into rosaries for chanting hymns in honour of Vishnu, and they are also worn, suspended round the neck, by the Vaishnavas (the followers of Vishnu) for the purification of their bodies.

*Badari*, or the jujube tree (*Zyzyphus jujuba*) is another tree where Lakshmi resides. The sage, Vedavyása, the reputed author of the *Mahábhárata* and the *Bhágavata*, is an incarnation of Vishnu and is said to still practice penance with his disciples under a *Badari* tree in the grove of *Badarikáshrama*

(Badari—hermitage). A pilgrimage to it is supposed to free a man from re-birth.

*Amalaka* (*Phyllanthus emblica*) is the representation of Dattátréya—an incarnation of the Triad Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwar in one form. The river Kanveri takes its origin on the Sahya\* mountains (near Coorg) with the water showered by Brahma and other gods on this avatar in the form of this tree. At the end of chaturmása or a period of religious observances, an annual dinner in a forest (Vana-bhójanam) is given in honour of Dattátréya. An Amalaka tree is worshipped before the dinner is served. It is believed that the meals partaken cleanse the body. Amalaka fruits are forbidden on Sundays.

Paddy or rice (*Oryza Sativa*) is a symbol of fertility and plenty. Wet rice is showered on the bridegroom as he goes to the bride's house for marriage. Both bride and bridegroom are made to freely shower handfuls of rice on the head of each other before the Mángalyam or tali is tied. Coloured red or yellow rice known as *Akshita* (the imperishable) is utilised in worshipping gods, or are showered on young people when benedictions are pronounced. As the new bride enters the house of the bridegroom for the first time, she has to kick with her right foot a measure, full of rice, kept on the threshold for the purpose. The ceremony is known as Griha Pravésa (entering a house). The girl at the same time carries in her garment a small quantity of rice as an emblem of bringing plenty and prosperity to that house. The daily ceremony of *Vaiswadeva* and *Baliharana* is performed by offering to devas cooked rice through fire (Agni, the carrier of *havis*, or offering to devas) and the remnant is kept on the floor for the use of crows, dogs, and chundálás. Lāja or fried rice is showered on kings, as an emblem of prosperity, as they pass through the streets by Sumangilis (women whose husbands are alive): and it is also offered in marriages to Súra, the Sun and his consort Sávitri through the sacred fire, as it is considered that they enable the bridegroom to claim his wife. A gift of

\* Rice's *Occasional Essays*, p 155.

paddy (Bijadánagift of seeds) is given away to a Brahmin on the birth of a child for its long life and prosperity. The manes are also pleased by the offering of Pindas (rice balls) annually. The religious uses of rice are too many to be mentioned here.

The custom of worshipping the flowers of *Arasáui* (*Cucurbita maxima*), in the early morning during the month of Margasirsha, was first observed by Draupati, Subhadra, Kunti, and others of the Pándava harem so that those flowers might serve as an index, if they did not fade, to the victory of the Pándavas in the great battle at Kurukshetra against Kauravas. The bearing of it is probably now forgotten, and the presence of these flowers outside the house in the early morning during that month indicates that the custom of worshipping these flowers is still observed by the Hindu women.

The bow of Kámadeva, the Indian cupid, is represented as being formed of sugarcane with a string composed of bamarás (honey bees) and his arrows are tipped with five kinds of blossoms, viz., *Aravinda* (lotus), *Asóka* (*Saraca Indica*), *Chúta* (*Mangifera Indica*), *Navamallika* (*Jesamine*), and *Nelotpala* (*Nymphaea*).

A small sugarcane boat is given away to a Brahmin on the death of a man, so that it may serve as a ferry through the River Vaitarani (the Styx of Hell).

*Aravinda*, or lotus, is also sacred to Vishnu. It symbolises creative power. Brahma, the four-faced Creator, was born in a lotus sprung from the navel of Vishnu. Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, always delights to sit on a lotus. *Aravinda* and *Nelotpala* (water-lily) are represented by Indian poets to be the wives of the sun and the moon. According to Kavi-Sankéta, or the convention of poets, they are represented as chaste, so that the lotus does not open during the time of the moon, nor the lily during day time.

The tree *Asóka* (*Saraca Indica*) is dedicated to the Indian Cupid. The word *Asóka* denotes that which is griefless. It is also said to preserve the chastity of women. Thus Sita, the wife of Ráma, when abducted by the ten-headed monster, Rávana, took refuge under an *Asóka* tree and successfully managed to

evade the caresses of the demon.\* Hindus also entertain another superstition that a single kick of a pretty damsel with her left foot or the spilling of wine, on the *Asoka*, is sufficient to cause the dried tree to flourish. This ceremony is known as *Dohada*.

*Chita* or mango (*Mangifera Indica*) is the first to blossom : and its flowers are offered to *Kámadeva*, the Indian Cupid, by damsels on their first appearance. The leaves are used in decorating marriage pandals and houses. They are also placed on *Kalasams* (pots in which *devas* are invoked) on auspicious occasions, and when the ceremony is over the bunch is used in sprinkling the holy water from the *Kalasam* as it is believed to purify the place.

*Navamallika* (*Jessamine*) flowers flourish during the month of *Vasantha*, the favourite month of *Káma*. They are largely used in decorating the heads of lovers, and the lovers are also expected to send their messages rolled up in a wreath of these flowers.

The flowers of *Kétaki* (*Pandanus fascicularis*) are not acceptable to *Siva* even to-day. The accompanying legend explains this. Once *Brahma* and *Vishnu*, wishing to see the head and feet of *Siva*, resolved on an expedition for the purpose. The former on the back of *Hamsa*\* (flamingo) went up to see the head, and the latter in the form of *Kurma* (tortoise) went down to see the feet of *Siva*. Ages passed but no good came of the adventure. *Brahma*, meeting on his way a *Kétaki* flower, slipped from the head of *Siva*, and hearing from it that it would be impossible for him to gain his object, requested it to give false evidence to the effect that *Brahma* had reached the head of *Siva* and that they were both returning in search of *Vishnu* to hear his tale. Accordingly when they all met together, the *Kétaki* flower bore false evidence and on that account it ceased to be sacred to *Siva*.

The seeds of *Rudráksha* (*Elæocarpus ganitrus*) are made into rosaries which are specially worn round the neck by *Saivites* (followers of *Siva*) and are also used in chanting hymns in praises of *Siva*. The plant, whose seeds are to

\* Folkard's *Plant Lore* &c, p 229

this day called *Rudrakshás*\* (eyes of Siva), is said to have sprung from the tears of Siva, as they fell on earth, at the end of Tripura-Samhára (destruction of the three cities). The seed with an odd number of splits or eyes is considered sacred and especially so when the number is less. Two joint seeds are highly valued and they are termed *Gauri-Sankarás*.

The leaves of *Bilva* (*Aegle marmelos*) and the flowers of *Thumbai* (*Lucas aspera*) and *Konnai* (*Cassia fistula*) are sacred to Siva. It is believed that God Siva resides in *Bilva* during the time marked by the closing of the eye-lids, and in *Konnai* during the time marked by the tickling of the fingers at the time of worshipping Siva with them. There are many stories to explain how the followers of Siva reached Kailása, the abode of Siva, by his worship with the leaves of *Bilva* and especially a fowler, who unconsciously threw its leaves on a dilapidated Siva under a tree where he took refuge for the night, is said to have reaped the benefit of such a worship in Kailása.

Why *Thumbai* (*Lucas aspera*) is sacred to Siva is explained thus. Once a brahmin, Drôna by name, seeing the real form of Siva at the end of his thapas (penance), made the request in confusion and hurry "My feet shall always be at your head," instead of "My head shall always be at your feet," and Siva, before granting his unusual and unintended request, is said to have converted him into the sacred flowers of Drôna, which now bear resemblance to feet when inverted, only to find a place on his (Siva's) head in conformity with his devotee's request.

And lastly the Navagrahás (the nine planets) have each a sacred plant dedicated to them. They are worshipped by the Hindus in order that their evil influence over their destinies may be averted. The worship lasts for a week or a mandala (a period of forty-eight days). Each is invoked on the gram sacred to it. The grains in the end are given away to brahmins in propitiation of the planets. Wheat (*Triticum vulgare*) is sacred to Súrja (the Sun), paddy (*Oryza sativa*) to Chandra

\* Polkard's *Plant Lore*, etc., p. 531.

(the Moon,) red gram (*Cajanus indicus*) to Angáraka (Mars), green gram (*Phaseolus mungo*), to Buda (Mercury), Bengal gram or chick pea (*Cicer arietinum*) to Guru (*Jupiter*), yellow gram (*Dolichos lablab*) to Sukra (*Venus*), sesame (*Sesamum indicum*) to Sani (Satwin), horse gram (*Dolichos biflorus*) to Ketu (*Dragon's head*), and black gram (*Phaseolus mungo var.*) to Ráhu (*Dragon's tail*).

Sesamum is also sacred to the manes. It is generally used in funerals, sraddhás or annual ceremonies, etc. It is freely used in Tharpanams (oblations of sesame and water offered to the manes) and mixed with pindas (rice balls offered to manes). The receipt of a gift of sesamum is considered unholy and consequently a tempting amount is offered with it as Dakshina.

P. V. TRIVIKRAMA RAU.

## Art. V.—PEARY CHAND MITTRA.

WE propose writing the life of Babu Peary Chand Mittra, in the hope that a short biographical sketch, however briefly and imperfectly written, will not prove uninteresting to our readers, as his long and valuable labours in the cause of his country have made his name familiar as a household word in Bengal and spread his fame to the furthest civilised lands of the Western World. Besides his extensive and varied learning, the unblemished purity of his character in every relation of life, his thorough independence of spirit, his strong common sense,—the two qualities which markedly distinguished him, and made him a pattern to his countrymen, were the firm self-reliance, and the indomitable energy, which never, under any circumstances, deserted him in life. Such a character appears to us well worthy of study. It cannot fail to afford instruction to those who would be great by their own self-reliance and self-dependence. We only hope that the lesson of his useful, exemplary and instructive life which we shall sketch, will not wholly be lost among us, and that they will bear rich fruit among the present and future generations, which enjoy facilities for intellectual culture, such as were never within the reach of Peary Chand Mittra and the men of his time.

Peary Chand Mittra, the fourth son of the late Babu Ram Narain Mittra, was born on the 22nd July 1814, corresponding with 8th Sravan 1221 B. S. In his childhood he was of such a sickly constitution that no sanguine expectations were entertained of the eminence to which he attained in his after life. According to the prevailing custom of the time, when the opportunities for acquiring an English education were rare and limited, he was placed at home, first under the instruction of a *Gurumohasaya* who taught him the elements of the Bengali language and then under a *moonshee*, for the purpose of learning Persian, which was then the Court language of India. When about 13 years of age, he was admitted into the Hindoo College, on the 7th July 1827 in the 11th class. At first his awkwardness and his bad pronunciation made him a laughing



stock to his fellow-students, but by application and industry, he corrected all his defects, and made himself a very prominent boy of his class and this position he maintained throughout his college career. His merit as a scholar was signally testified to by Sir John Peter Grant, subsequently a Judge of the Supreme Court, who awarded his own prize to Peary Chand for an essay he had set—his competitors comprising the late Raja Degumber Mitra, C.S.I.; and other students of his year. He had no taste for mathematics, but he was very contemplative, and was often called “the Philosopher” by Dr. Tytler his mathematical professor, so much so, that on one occasion when Sir John Peter Grant enquired whether any student knew moral philosophy in his class, Dr. Tytler jocosely named Peary Chand as the “Philosopher.” At every annual examination he invariably distinguished himself by his shrewd replies to questions, however puzzling, and by his general intelligence. While in the first class of the college, he received, besides the annual prize books, a scholarship of Rs. 16 per mensem, which in those days was considered the *sumum bonum* of scholastic distinction. The brilliancy of his scholastic career must be chiefly imputed to his yearning after knowledge which bore down all petty obstacles in the way of the vigorous prosecution of his studies. His merits were unobtrusive and therefore required observation, in order to be appreciated. It is owing to his speculative cast of mind that English education did not make him a mad enthusiast as it had made many at that time, but left him a quiet reformer as may be seen a little later on. Imbued with a desire to become a public speaker, he joined at this time a debating club, called the “Academic Association,” established under the auspices and presidentship of the late Father of Native Education—David Hare. As an active member of the Association, he threw into the shade most of his seniors by his clever way of handling the subjects under discussion, and by always speaking to the point. This Association was dissolved in 1839. At this time he also kept a charitable school, called the Benevolent Institution, at his family residence, where boys from the neighbourhood would assemble to receive instruction. Messrs. Hare and Derozio were honorary visitors and Babus Russick Krishna Mallick,

Radha Nath Sikdar, and Shib Chunder Deb were honorary teachers, and the well-known Babu Kissory Chand Mittra, Gopee Kissen Mittra, Gobind Chunder Dey and others received their elementary education there.

Peary Chand soon attracted the attention of Sir Edward Ryan and Mr. Cameron, who both pressed him to enter Government service. But he was not ambitious of such preferments, and so did not follow this advice. Shortly after quitting the college, however, he was appointed Deputy Librarian of the Calcutta Public Library.\* In fact, he deserves the chief credit for organising that Institution, which, in the days of its small beginnings, was located in the lower rooms of Dr. Strong's house in Esplanade Row. Sir Charles Metcalfe having retired at this time from the officiating post of Governor-General of India, a public testimonial which had been voted to him for his inestimable services in giving freedom to the Indian Press, took the form of a building to be erected from public subscriptions, to be called after his name, and to be appropriated to the accommodation of the then existing two most useful institutions, *viz.*, the Calcutta Public Library and the Agricultural Society of India, which had no local habitations of their own. Peary Chand toiled from morning to night with laudable zeal and energy in getting subscriptions for the building which has now, through his exertions, proved an ornament to the city. Beginning as Deputy Librarian, he became Librarian and Secretary when Mr. Stacey retired, and afterwards an honorary Curator of that institution, where he had ample opportunity for study. The small pittance which the Library was able to afford him was of little consideration as compared to the facilities for mental culture, which were secured by his position. Under him the Library became a public resort of the members of the Supreme Council, Judges and Barristers of the late Supreme Court, and the highest civil servants, merchants, and brokers in Calcutta. He resigned •

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\* At the instance of Mr. Joakim Hayward Stœckeler, the energetic Editor and Proprietor of the *Englishman*, a meeting in the Town Hall was held on 31st August 1835 (the same year the *Englishman* newspaper was established) with Sir John Peter Grant as Chairman, for the purpose of establishing a Library for public reference and circulation. The Library was formally opened on 21st March 1836. From July 1841 to June 1844 it was located in the College of Fort William and from thence removed to the Metcalfe Hall.

the post in 1867, leaving the Library in a most flourishing condition with a reserve fund of Rs. 18,000 invested in Government securities, and the Curators bearing high testimony to his past services.

As we have already observed, he declined office in the Public Service, but devoted his time and attention to commercial pursuits—founding the firm of Peary Chand Mittra and Sons.

There occurred an event at this period which is worth mentioning. During the administration of Lord Dalhousie the corruptions of the Police had become notorious, the columns of newspapers were daily filled with fresh instances of the systematic way in which bribery and unlawful oppression were carried on with impunity. The "Ghost of a Goenda" was unremitting in his exertion to bring the matter to the notice of Government. At length a Commission was appointed to investigate the real state of things. Messrs. Colvin and Dampier were the Commissioners. European and native gentlemen were called upon to give evidence upon the matter. Peary Chand was one of them. He gave his evidence fearlessly, exposing the corruption of the Police. The investigation resulted in the removal of some and dismissal of the more guilty officers.

His literary labours knew no pause. He continued to prosecute his studies even when he had entered into commerce. We have already alluded to the Academic Association. This Association was formed in 1828 or 1829 at the house lately occupied by the Wards Institution under the presidency of H. L. V. Derozio. Subsequently it was removed to Hare's School and David Hare was elected president. The meetings were held once a week and lasted for several hours.

On the 12th March 1838 a meeting of Hindu gentlemen was held at the Sanscrit College and the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge was established with the object of promoting mutual improvement. Peary Chand was its honorary secretary. Among the published discourses read at the Society will be found many a well-written essay from his pen. Of these "State of Hindustan under the Hindus," and "Native Female Education" are worth mentioning. His

writings always consisted of facts and aimed at no excellence of form or manner. They are generally the result of long and close study and deep thought. Verbosity and diffuseness of style are not to be met in his writings.

Peary Chand was connected with the press from his early youth. He founded a diglot paper, called *Jnananweshan*, in conjunction with the late Raja Dakshina Ranjan Mukerjee, and the *Bengal Spectator* with the late Babus Ram Gopal Ghose and Russick Krishna Mullick. He also started the first Bengali magazine, called the *Masik Patrika*, a journal bristling with useful instruction in homely language. To the *Indian Field*, edited by his brother Kissory Chand, he used regularly to contribute. Besides these, he also wrote in the *Hindu Patriot*, *Bengal Harkara*, and the *Englishman* very often. His contributions to the *Calcutta Review* would constitute a bulky volume of useful essays on various subjects of local interest, consisting of the following :—

- (1) Zemindar and Ryot.
- (2) Marriage of Hindu Widows.
- (3) Agricultural Society of India.
- (4) Court Amlahs in Bengal.
- (5) Department of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce.
- (6) Development of the Female Mind in India.
- (7) Commerce in Ancient India.
- (8) Social Life of the Aryans.
- (9) Indian Wheat.
- (10) Hindu Bengal.
- (11) Notes on the early Commerce in Bengal.
- (12) Culture of Hindu Females.

The first article, entitled the Zemindar and Ryot, attracted the attention of Lord Albemarle and was brought to the notice of the House of Lords (*vide London Times*, 5th July 1853).

The Calcutta Mechanics' Institute (Calcutta Lyceum) was established on 26th February 1839 with Sir John Peter Grant as president. The object of the institute was the instruction in the principles of the arts and the various branches of useful knowledge. Peary Chand was a member of this institute.

This was a society of which the members were chiefly European, the only native members being Babus (afterwards Maharaja) Roma Nath Tagore, Hari Mohan Sen, and Peary Chand Mittra.

On 1st June, 1842 David Hare, the Father of Native Education, died deeply regretted by every educated Indian. A Memorial Meeting was held on 17th June 1842. Peary Chand was a member of the Committee to further its object. The Committee erected a statue which is now to be seen in the open ground between the Presidency College and Hare School. He was also one of the promoters of the Hare Anniversary Meetings. When Kissory Chand Mittra resigned the post of Honorary Secretary of that body in 1846, Peary Chand was elected in his place. Peary Chand was also secretary to the Hare Prize Fund Committee, and through his exertions many valuable tracts, chiefly for the instruction of Hindu females, were issued at the expense of this fund. In 1877 Peary Chand wrote a biographical sketch of that "Apostle of Native Progress," which also gives a brief account of the early history of English education in Bengal, full of valuable information, and which, we may observe, is a model in its way. Even at the present time the book is read with keen interest.

Peary Chand joined the Agri-Horticultural Society of India in 1847. His pen was not idle here. In the journal of the Society he contributed the following articles:—

- (1) Bengal Rice.
- (2) Indian Wheat.
- (3) Agriculture in Bengal.
- (4) Department of Agriculture.
- (5) Sugarcane.
- (6) Cultivation of flax.
- (7) Silk and paper from the Mulberry Bark.
- (8) Madder plant.

His *Krishipath*, written in Bengali in simple style, was intended chiefly for cultivators and farmers. He was for many years Vice-President of the society. The council of the Society also elected him an honorary member (in 1871) for the valuable services rendered. He was appointed one of the judges of the Agricultural Exhibition of Bengal, held at Belvedere, under

the presidency of Sir Cecil Beadon, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in 1864.

Peary Chand was also the oldest member of the School Book Society and the Vernacular Literature Society, and took an active part in the management of its affairs. He used to sign all cheques of the Society and look into its accounts.

In conjunction with George Thompson, the eminent orator, Peary Chand organised, as early as 1843, the Bengal British India Society, with the object of "collection and dissemination of information, relating to the actual condition of the people of British India, and the laws, institutions and resources of the country; and to employ such other means of a peaceable and lawful character, as may appear calculated to secure the welfare, extend the just rights, and advance the interests of all classes of fellow-subjects." Mr. Thompson was the chairman, Babus Tarachand Chuckerbutty and Ram Gopal Ghose were vice-chairmen, and Peary Chand the secretary. This Society did some good in collecting information relative to the condition of the rural community of Bengal. It was in fact the nursery of a young band of politicians (foremost of whom were Ram Gopal Ghose, Dakhina Ranjan Mookerjee, Tarachand Chuckerbutty, and Peary Chand Mittra) who painfully alive to the wretched distinctions then in force between the governing and the governed classes, and to the oppressions of Anglo-Saxons towards their native fellow-subjects, gave vent to their thoughts and feelings with a freedom of speech which shook even the nerves of the most impassionate Englishman in India. Week after week there was a rush to that political arena where its president, George Thompson, and members delighted their audience with the most pleasing visions about the future of India. The European officials used to laugh at this Society and used to nickname it "Chuckerbutty faction." But the seed which had been sown by this youthful band had germinated and developed into a stately tree. Dwarka Nath Tagore's Zemindars' Association (founded in April 1838) was amalgamated with this Society and was named the British Indian Association (31st October 1851) of which Peary Chand was a foundation member. Under the auspices of this Society Peary Chand wrote "Notes on Indian Affairs" in 1853. His

public utterances there proved that even politics were not excluded from the wide range of his studies. Often when he was called upon to propose or second a resolution, he cheerfully undertook the task and ably executed it. His speeches against the imposition of the odious tax—the Income Tax and the Black Act are too well known to require any mention here. In the British Indian Association, he also used to take an active part in the management of its affairs as the printed records of the Association will show. In recognising his services the Association afterwards elected him one of its honorary members.

Peary Chand was much esteemed by the European mercantile community, who elected him Director of many limited companies, foremost of which were the Great Eastern Hotel Company, Port Canning Land Investment Company, Howrah Docking Company, and South Salt Company. He was an expert in tea business, and was Director of the Bengal Tea Company, Durking Tea Company, and the East India Tea Company.

On the 3rd June 1853, Sir Charles Wood, as President of the Board of Control, introduced in the House of Commons the Ministerial scheme for the Government of India. This scheme, however unexceptionable in some respects, did not satisfy the just and reasonable expectations of the native community. They were deeply disappointed at the omission of several important and, in their estimation, essential questions, such as the admission of natives in the Legislative Council of India and the Civil Service, provisions for increasing the emoluments of native judicial officers, and the extension of reproductive public works. Peary Chand and a few other "Hindu Collegians" being deeply impressed with the necessity and importance of agitating these questions, moved the leading members of the native community to convene a public meeting for the purpose. Accordingly a public meeting was held on the 29th July 1853. It was the most crowded meeting that had ever been witnessed in Calcutta. Hundreds upon hundreds were obliged to return without getting beyond the steps of the Town Hall. Almost every native gentleman of distinction resident in or near Calcutta appears to have been present, and every section of the native community was fairly represented.

Peary Chand made a most telling speech on this occasion. We cannot help reproducing the conclusion of it :—

“The policy of the British Government with respect to the natives of India ought to be the policy of reason and justice as had been over and over declared. The continuance of the Haileybury College would virtually exclude natives from admission into the Civil Service. Justice and interests of this country were on the point of bidding adieu. Welfare of the poor natives had gone not to come back. The healthy suggestion which he could make was that if his country should be placed under the practical administration of his countrymen, true and steady advancement would not be far distant. Sir Thomas Monro had enunciated an important truth. The more the human mind was fettered, the more it was hampered, the more ignoble and degraded it became. Give it full scope, and it would be more and more expanded. Was it not the relaxation of the restrictive policy that had brought about the present improvement in the administration of this country; and was it now to be said that the total annihilation of the protective system would be productive of evil? Impossible! And yet the British Government appeared to be lukewarm in the appreciation of this striking truth.”

On 26th November 1872 there was a public meeting to present an address to Mr. Fawcett, M. P., and to convey thanks to the electors of Brighton. The Maharajah Romanath Tagore was in the chair. Peary Chand addressed this meeting with his usual eloquence.

A public meeting was held under the auspices of the British Indian Association on the 30th September 1874, with Raja Digumber Mitter in the chair, to move against the *Civil Appeals Bills*, to be amended in the Governor-General's Council. The Bill, if passed into law, would “by withdrawing the right of special appeal to the High Court, diminish the security to an efficient administration of Justice by the Mofussil Courts, and thus prove a fruitful source of dissatisfaction.” Peary Chand took an active part in this meeting and moved a resolution.

It is difficult, nay impossible, to refer in this short space to all his speeches in these public meetings, but we cannot help alluding to one that happened in the year 1843, and is now almost forgotten. On the 18th April of that year, a public meeting was held in the Town Hall to present an address to James Sullivan, late of the Madras Civil Service, expressive of the gratitude of the natives for his advocating, in the Courts



of Proprietors of India Stock, the substitution of native for European agency in the civil administration of the country, in conformity with the 87th Section of the Charter Act of 1843. Mr. Adam Frere Smith, the Sheriff, occupied the chair. Peary Chand attended the meeting, and moved a resolution which was seconded by Ram Gopal Ghose.

Peary Chand was connected with the District Charitable Society for a long time. In those days Indians (excepting a limited few) did not care to take active interest in the Society. In 1848 the attention of the Central Committee having been drawn to the inefficient state of the Native Committee, which had not "held any meetings for several years," a Sub-Committee of European and native members was formed for maturing a plan for regulating the relief of the native poor. The native members of this Sub-Committee were Ram Gopal Ghose and Peary Chand Mittra. His long connection with this Society, both as member of the Central and Native Committees, enabled him to relieve the distress of many a worthy object of charity. In season and out of season he toiled hard in order to institute a most searching enquiry into the circumstances of every case in which relief was sought; so apprehensive was he that the really deserving might not go away unaided. He used invariably to attend the committee meetings at the sacrifice of his own work.

As an old Justice of the Peace and Honorary Magistrate of Calcutta, Peary Chand rendered valuable services to the State. Though not a trained lawyer, his decisions were characterised by sound sense.

Peary Chand was well read in ancient Hindu lore, and through the medium of the Sanskrit language, mastered the "Vedas, the Upanishads, and the Hindu Yoga Philosophy which is a wonder to the world. He is the ideal of what the Bengali might become through true education and discipline. Peary Chand was educated in the modern sense without any violent breach with the traditions of his forefathers, a Christian in kindness, forbearance, and the practice of every practical good work; a Hindu in honouring the Vedas and the Hindu Philosophy. He was also well versed in Hindu music, and always delighted in cultivating it with expert musicians. The famous

musician Babu Ramapati Banerjee used to live in his house and to enliven him with music. Even when confined to his bed, Peary Chand would try the various *rags* and *raginis*. He also published a book *Gitankeer* or gems of hymns.

His labours in Bengali literature were equally ceaseless. It was he who first introduced into Bengal a species of light literature in the shape of novels. Under the *nom de plume* of Tek Chand Thakur, he wrote the first Bengali novel, entitled *Alaler Ghorer Dulal*, or the spoilt child of the house of Alal. The book was first published serially in the *Masik Patrika* (from 1854) and it chiefly treats of the pernicious effects of allowing children to be improperly brought up, with remarks on the then existing system of education and is illustrative of the condition of Hindu society, manners, customs etc., and partly of the state of things in the mofussil. Nearly all the burning questions of the day are boldly attacked or incidentally touched upon—child marriage, the position of women, education problems, caste exclusiveness, malpractices in the law courts, and the indigo question. It marks an epoch in Bengali literature, being a departure from the beaten track of writing Bengali chiefly with Sanskrit derivations, the parent of an indigenous literature, distinct from the Sanskritized Bengali in vogue before. Tek Chand was the first boldly to head a new path, and the subsequent expansion of an original Bengali literature in this country must be regarded as the result of his efforts. Even if he had done nothing else he would have been reverently remembered in this country as long as its literature would last, as having been the first in the field to give it a strictly national turn. Peary Chand had a happy knack of giving life and vividness to the various actors of his domestic novel—and possessed a real gift of quiet humour. Though the action moves in the comparatively peaceful channels of every-day life, the story is not wanting in variety and incidents: there is abundance of characteristic detail and local colouring. In noticing the book, the *Calcutta Review* justly observed: "Tek Chand Thakur has written a tale, the like of which is not to be found within the entire range of Bengali literature. In matter

he scattered to the winds the time-honoured common places, and drew upon nature and life for his materials."

He was also the first Bengali satirist. It was he who first drew the attention of his countrymen to the evils of intemperance by writing a satirical work, called "Mad Khaya bara daya, jat thakar Ki Upaya," of which the *Calcutta Review* says:— 'Tek Chand Thakur's satirical powers are of no mean order. What the poet says of Chesterfield is true of our Thakur. 'His well-tempered satire, smoothly keen, steals through the soul, and without pain corrects.'" The veteran Missionary, the Rev. J. Long, in reviewing it, makes the following observations:—"A native under the *soubriquet* of Tek Chand with the wit of a Dickens or a Molière has exposed the evils of spirit drinking, female ignorance, and young Bengalism among his countrymen, and his works have met with a large circulation."

Being himself a warm advocate of female education, Peary Chand's next work was *Ramaranjika*, a treatise chiefly adapted to the study of ladies. The Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerjee says:—"It is the very sort of thing to put into the hands of female pupils, the language having the rare excellence of being free from bombastic on the one hand, and vulgarity on the other; and the subjects being calculated to furnish the mind with useful information and to impart a healthy tone to the thinking powers." Next comes *Jatkinchit*, a treatise on Theism, and on the leading subjects of religion. It brings home forcibly to the Bengalis the paramount obligation of prayer, of earnestness in life and of good works. The whole tone of the book is eminently healthy and sound. It is a short treatise, in ten chapters, relative to the existence and attributes of the Deity, the immortality of the soul, the existence of a future state, the laws of God's government and the modes by which the Deity is to be worshipped, sought, and found. While the duty of prayer, the reward to good, the punishment of evil, and the necessity of faith in God are advocated, illustrations and morals are aptly drawn or pointed from incidents familiar to Indian residents; such as death from a snake bite, destructive storms in the Ganges, and raging fires in the bazar.

Next comes *The Culture and State of the Hindu female in Ancient India* in the Bengali language. The Maharani

Sornomoyee, of Cossimbazar after reading the book, wrote a letter to Peary Chand, which she concluded thus: "Each time I perused it I was delighted and amused in the highest degree. To say the least the work is worthy of the hand it came from, and will add to the many ornaments of the Bengali literature. I need hardly remark that to my sex for whose particular benefit it has been written, the work is an acquisition."\* Last, though not the least in importance, was *Bamatosini*, a tale of Hindu domestic life leaving all religious ideas.

His spiritual novels, the *Avedi* and the *Adhmatika* were very popular in those days. These are written in clear and forcible Bengali, ranging from the lowest conversational style to a diction not unworthy of the topics which the works discuss. He also published a short life of David Hare in Bengali intended for the fair sex and those who are ignorant of the English language. All these bear marks of the author's powers of observation and generalization, and have been deservedly popular amongst his countrymen.

We have already observed that he was a warm advocate of female education. In conjunction with the late Mr. J. E. D. Bethune he was chiefly instrumental in the establishment of the Bethune School for ladies (7th May 1849). Among the first batch of pupils we find his eldest daughter. Female education, we may here add, was known long in his family. In the preface of one of his books *Adhmatika*, Peary Chand wrote:—"While a pupil of the patshala at home, I found my grandmother, mother, and aunts reading Bengali books. They could write in Bengali and keep accounts. There were no female schools then. Nor were there suitable books for the females. My wife was very fond of reading, and I could scarcely supply her with instructive books. I was thus forced to think how female education could be promoted in a substantial way." The Hon'ble Mr. Buckland in his *Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors*, says that when Miss Mary Carpenter visited Calcutta in the sixties, Peary Chand had a prominent place on her committee for the improvement of female education.

The Hon'ble Mr. Bethune died on 12th August 1851. Peary Chand moved among his friends that a separate

subscription should be raised for a personal memorial of the deceased apart from the "Bethune Endowment Fund." A meeting of the native friends and admirers of the hon'ble gentleman was held on 22nd August and a committee was appointed, of which Peary Chand was the secretary. A marble bust of the deceased was placed in the hall of the college as a result of his efforts.

In order to perpetuate the name of the deceased, and to commemorate his great services and boundless liberality in promoting the cause of Native Female Education, and Native improvement generally, it was also resolved at a public general meeting, to establish a society, to be named "The Bethune Society" for the consideration and discussion of questions connected with literature and science. The first meeting was held on 11th December 1851 in the theatre of the Medical College, Dr. Mouat, Secretary of the Medical College, was elected president and Peary Chand, honorary secretary. Under the secretaryship of Peary Chand, the Society rapidly increased in numbers and usefulness. Lectures were delivered at the regular monthly meetings on a great variety of interesting and important subjects, and very often the delivery of the lectures was followed by very animated extemporaneous discussions.

His independence, his thorough knowledge of the country and its people, his vast reading and research, his devotion to letters as manifested in his unceasing literary labours, his public spirit, and last though not the least important, his engaging address, soon brought him into the prominent notice of Government. The then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir William Grey, wrote an autograph letter, asking him to join the Bengal Legislative Council, which he did as a member on the 18th January 1868 and remained there for two years. During the time he was in the Council, he was as busy as ever. In order to be able to take an active part in its discussions, he very carefully studied every subject that came before it, and as a conclusive proof that he did not consider his seat in the provincial Legislature as a sinecure, we find him framing, introducing, and carrying through the Council two Bills for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, better known as Acts I and III of 1869.

Since the foundation of the Calcutta Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (4th October 1861), Peary Chand was one of its active members. The services he rendered there were invaluable. He laboured hard for the prevention of cruelty towards the brute creation, as no one can be a true Psychologist without having compassion for and feeling himself bound to protect the inferior creation, which, as he knew, have souls just as we have, though not so developed. As a member of the Executive Committee he spared no pains to keep the Society afloat and buoyant. After the death of Mr. Colesworthy Grant he was elected honorary secretary in his place. So great was his zeal and energy in keeping the funds of the Society in a flourishing condition, that he used to call on native chiefs and noblemen personally, explaining to them the humane objects of the Society, which thus became widely known to the native community. After his death his eldest son, Amrita Lall, carried on the work of the Society until he resigned a few months before his death in 1895.

After the death of Mr. Grant a committee was formed, with Mr. J. Sewell White, then a Judge of the High Court, as president and Peary Chand as secretary, to commemorate the services of the deceased by erecting a fountain with cattle trough. This is placed on the east side of Dalhousie Square. Peary Chand also wrote an excellent biography of his friend Mr. Grant.

When Miss Carpenter was in Calcutta, she expressed a desire to meet the leading members of both native and European society, with a view to the discussion of the advantages to be derived from a Social Science Association in this country, like the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science in Great Britain. A meeting was held on the 17th December 1866, at which Sir John Lawrence, the Viceroy, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Miss M. Carpenter, and a large number of European and native gentlemen were present. A Sub-Committee, composed of Mr. Justice Seton Karr, Rev. J. Long, and Peary Chand Mittra was formed to draft a scheme for the constitution and organisation of the proposed Society. Another meeting followed on 22nd January 1867 with Sir Cecil Beadon, Lieutenant-Governor of

Bengal as Chairman, and the Bengal Social Science Association was formed. The object of the Association was to promote the development of social progress in the Presidency of Bengal by uniting Europeans and natives of all classes, in the collection, arrangement, and classification of facts bearing on the social, intellectual, and moral condition of the people. The Hon'ble Mr. Seton Karr was the president, and H. Beverley and Peary Chand Mittra, honorary secretaries. The Association had the good fortune to be always regarded with favour and approval by the Government authorities for the time being. Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo took a very great deal of interest in it. Sir George Campbell and Sir Richard Temple each occupied for a time the office of president. Many of the papers that were read there, attracted the notice of Government, and some of them resulted in legislative or executive measures. Peary Chand took an incessant interest in its welfare and at his instance many leading European and native gentlemen joined the Association. The published "transactions" of the Society will testify to his zeal and ability. Peary Chand resigned in 1875, and a few months later Miss Carpenter died. After these two events the Association dragged on somewhat of a torpid and inglorious existence.

In 1863 Peary Chand was nominated a Fellow of the Calcutta University. Seeing the system of education pursued by the University, touched the head and not the heart, he tried to introduce theological works into the curriculum of the University but his efforts were not successful.

Peary Chand's services as a Municipal Commissioner, under the Act of 1863, were not insignificant. He used daily to hear complaints from the rate-payers, and made it a point to forward them to the Chairman. Along with Dr. Rajendralala Mitra and the Hon'ble Kristo Dass Paul, he always fought for the rate-payers, with whose interests he thoroughly identified himself. In fact, in those days, they were considered the leading Commissioners, who never made any question a party question but discussed each on the broad basis of general principles and worked shoulder to shoulder.

Peary Chand was the first to expose the oppressions of the indigo planters in his *Alaler Ghorer Dulal*. Six years after

it the famous *Nildarpan* of Rai• Dinabundoo Mitter was published (1860). He also gave evidence fearlessly before the Commission. Mr. Long, in the "Indigo• Commission" specially alluded to it, styling him the "Dickens of Bengal."

Peary Chand was married to the youngest daughter of the late Babu Pran Krishna Biswas, of Kharda, who is well known as the author of several works on the tantras, and as the collector of 70,000 salgrams. This young lady was educated by her father and was very fond of reading. Peary Chand was a loving husband and treated his wife with the greatest tenderness. It was under her influence that *Alaler Ghorer Dulal* was written. After the death of his wife in 1860, he betook himself to the study of Psychology, spiritualism and animal magnetism, for which he had formerly shown some predilection. Both intellectually and spiritually he was far above the ordinary run of men. As an enthusiastic spiritual enquirer, he carried on an extensive correspondence with his fellow-spiritualists in Europe and America. The favourable opinion entertained by them of his sterling merit, sound views, and deep insight into several abstruse questions, as evidenced by his writings on different subjects, is a conclusive proof that his labours in this direction have not been in vain. In fact, he gave to spiritualism an impulse in Bengal. He was an honorary member of the British National Association and the Central Association of spiritualists in London, and received several diplomas and certificates testifying to the value of his labours in that field. He was a fellow of the Theosophical Society, ever since its foundation in New York and he was greatly instrumental in the foundation of its Bengal branch, of which he was the first president. In 1877 he published the *Spiritual Stray Leaves* with the following chapters:—(1) Psychology of the Aryas; (2) Psychology of the Buddhists; (3) God in the soul; (4) Spirit Land; (5) Spiritual State; (6) Soul Revelation; (7) The Soul; (8) Occultism and Spiritualism; (9) A Spiritual tale; (10) Progression of the Soul; (11) Soul Revelation in India; (12) Culture of Hindu Females in Ancient Times; (13) The Human and the Spiritual. All the pieces contain beautiful thoughts and aspirations after a better life. No one can question the excellence of feeling that pervades them. The book became most popular among



Hindus and Spiritualists throughout the world. He also published two other books : *Stray Thoughts on Spiritualism* and *On the Soul, its Nature and Development*. Besides these, he used to contribute occasionally to the *Banner of Light* and other Spiritual papers of America and England. Indeed, he was a man of religion, and whether absorbed in the mysteries of theosophy or in the wonders of Spiritualism he retained the quiet, but simple faith of his fathers, and through nature, he read the marvellous wisdom of Nature's God. During the latter part of his life, he directed his attention almost solely to the spirit world, to questions (very different from the Vernacular Press Act and the Ilbert Bill) of the most vital interest to man affecting his future destiny. Whatever effects Spiritualism may have produced on his mind, it has certainly widened and enlarged his religious views. He was an ardent spiritualist, and although we do not care to enquire in this place as to whether he was right or wrong, scientific or speculative in his conclusions, we must say that, his later-day occupations indicate a state of mind which, say what we may, elevate man above the level of average, worldly-wise humanity, which is satisfied with " increasing and multiplying " with the so-called patriotism which sighs over paucity or rewards for public spirit in this country, and with fighting and shedding bad blood over pseudo-patriotism and other mundane affairs.

In religion he was a theist, and retained the primitive faith of the Aryyas. He was not a registered Brahmo, but he fraternised with Maharsi Debendra Nath Tagore and Keshub Chunder Sen. When his brother Kissory Chand established the Hindu Theo-Philanthropist Society in 1843, Peary Chand used to give addresses there along with Rev. Drs. Duff and Banerjee, Babus Ram Gopal Ghose, and the Secretary, Kissory Chand. Before breakfast he used daily to pray for nearly two hours with his family. He was very abstemious in his diet, and latterly he lived chiefly upon milk and fruits.

His writings were directed to noble objects, and were marked by a deep religious tinge throughout. No domestic affliction or pecuniary loss could ever disturb the equanimity of his mind, and he bore his misfortunes with a pious resignation that

was really exemplary. In fact the steady industry with which he worked with his pen, the almost youthful fervour with which he hailed every new source of information, the careful attention with which he carried on his researches, often excited feelings of wonder in us—members of a younger generation. There was not a branch of public, national, intellectual life which did not interest Peary Chand and engage his services.

Praiseworthy as his public and intellectual life has been, his private life raises him more in the estimation of his countrymen. He was a loving husband, an affectionate father, a kind and sympathising friend, and a master indulgent even to a fault to his servants. His behaviour to others was marked by kindness, cordiality and affability. Everyone who came in contact with him, went away impressed by his goodness and *bonhomie*. In morality, in unselfish benevolence, in goodness of soul, he was an exemplary man. The purity of his character, his thorough unselfishness, and his unpretending benevolence entitled him to universal respect. He always acted as the peace-maker between any two contending parties. He had not unfrequently been called upon to arbitrate in cases of no ordinary complication, requiring much time and attention for their settlement. Of his private charity we know of several instances. During the great famine of 1866-7, he created an Anna Chhatra in front of his residence, where about 200 beggars were daily fed. He watched the distribution of rice personally, so that no beggar might go away unfed. In his zemindary he excavated a huge tank to mitigate the water scarcity of his ryots. He identified himself with no particular party or clique, but freely mixed with all. His views were never circumscribed or sectarian, but were always liberal and catholic. Rai Kristo Das Pal Bahadur in noticing the death of Peary Chand writes thus in the *Hindu Patriot*:—"In him the country loses a literary veteran, a devoted worker, a distinguished author, a clever wit, an earnest patriot and an enthusiastic spiritual enquirer. In manners he was a gentleman, in spirit a cosmopolitan. Although he numbered nearly three score and ten, his life was a continued life of literary activity and public usefulness. His death leaves a chasm which cannot be easily filled up."

Suffering from dropsy for nearly two years he was successively placed under homœopathic, kabiraji and allopathic treatment, but the disease had taken such a deep and strong hold on him that he ultimately succumbed to it, and passed away very quietly on the 23rd November 1883 at 10-45 P.M., (leaving three sons, Amritlal, Choonylal, and Nogendralal and a daughter,) we earnestly hope, to that better world to which he had so long and so earnestly looked forward, as promising him a continuance of the useful and blameless life he had led on this earth.

The news of his death was received by his numerous friends and admirers, here and abroad, with much sorrow. Letters of condolence and sympathy were received privately and also appeared in the local papers which eulogised in column after column his career. We cull one written by Rev. C. H. A. Dall, which appeared in the *Statesman* of 1st December 1883.—“Good men are scarce and Peary Chand Mittra was a good man. For seventy years he has been in and among us. Everybody who knew Calcutta, knew him. Everywhere his coming was welcome as morning dew and his presence sweet as the evening breeze. We shall grasp his hand and see his smile no more, this side of Heaven. Simple, willing, unpretending goodness, was his ideal. His life long aim was to be good, to do good. I can still hear him now say :—‘Be a good man, only be a good man, and you need no other religion.’ If ever there was a gentleman, he was a gentleman ; gentle and firm. Yes, he had a rare vigour and courage for one of Hindu antecedents, born in Bengal and never in England. He was never idle. He was always at work in some good cause, say rather in all good enterprises and reforms which he could help by his counsel, his pen, or his presence.” Time was (in 1855 and 1856) when he attended the preaching at No. 4, Tank Square and was a welcome teacher of his own and other boys in my Sunday School. After a certain discourse he ceased to come. I went and asked why he left us, and he said it was because, in that sermon, I had declared Jesus to be (in miniature) the perfect image of His Father ;—one the die or stamp and the other the print. Could I be so blind as to find the Infinite in the definite—yes, I said all of the Infinite, in its elements, that we need to know.

Peary Chand could not stand that.\* To him it, was idolatry. He would have none of it. Why could I not see Jesus as Parker did?—Because I must think my own thought, and not another's. More than twenty-five years have passed since that day. During all these years, and to the end, Peary Chand and I have been fast friends. His independence of mind has greatly helped me and I owe him much. I am reminded of it by what Sir Barnes Peacock said (in the High Court) of Shumboo Nath Pundit when he died. I also recall it, when more recently another Chief Justice says of Dwarka Nath Mitter: 'He was fearless, independent, and always ready to support the cause of the poor, and often without fees.' How can I let him leave us for a higher sphere—without a God-be-with-thee and thou with him."

The various societies and associations with which he was connected passed resolutions in memory of the deceased. The Hon'ble H. J. Reynolds, Vice-Chancellor of the University, paid a fitting tribute to the memory of the deceased remarking that "something more than a passing notice is due to the memory of Peary Chand Mittra." The Calcutta Public Library voted for an oil painting which is still now an ornament of the Metcalfe Hall.

At the Annual Meeting of the British Indian Association, held on 7th May 1884, Raja Rajendralala Mitra, the President remarked thus:—"The only things about which I have to mourn on the present occasion is the loss of two very valuable members. The first was the foremost—one of the most accomplished members, one of the two or three that we had lately living of our foundation members. We have lost in him a most valuable co-adjutor, who had done good service to the Association for a very long time. I allude to the late Babu Peary Chand Mittra. He and his brother, the late Kisşory Chand Mittra, were most arduous in every undertaking which came before the Association, and all our early representations, papers, reports and proceedings bear the stamp of their intellectual powers.\* To me the loss is severe, because both these individuals I looked upon as old and intimate personal friends, and many of you, at least some of you, I am sure, who have had the pleasure of walking with Babu

Peary Chand Mittra will bear me out that you cannot have a more hearty, good-natured and ardent gentleman who was ever foremost in every good undertaking. It would be long before we shall be able to replace so valuable a co-adjutor. I am glad to state that a few months ago this Association took the lead in holding a meeting to adopt means to perpetuate the memory of Peary Chand Mittra. A subscription has been opened, and a fair sum has been subscribed, and I hope before long to have the pleasure of seeing the benign countenance of my old friend put up in marble in some of our public institutions."

A meeting under the auspices of the British Indian Association was held on Monday, the 28th January 1884, for the purpose of considering the propriety of perpetuating the memory of the deceased in a suitable manner. It was attended by the representatives of all classes of the community and presided over by Maharajah Sir Norendra Krishna. The most interesting feature of the meeting was the cheerful testimony borne by leading European gentlemen to the worth and character of the deceased. Mr. Murray (of Messrs. Kettlewell, Bullen and Company), President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce said:—"All he could say was that India, at the present time, was mourning the loss of two gentlemen, *viz.*, Keshub Chandra Sen and Peary Chand Mittra. The one—Keshub Chandra Sen—addressed himself to the higher and more educated classes of the community; the other—worked for the masses. Peary Chand, in Bengali literature, was the Charles Dickens of Bengal. The speaker knew him in private business and he could say, without fear of contradiction, that he had never known a more fair dealing, honest man. It was for his honesty and devotion to the people of India that he would be remembered." Mr. Robert Turnbull, the popular Secretary to the Corporation, in a feeling address remarked that besides his extensive and varied learning, the unblemished purity of his character in every relation of life, his thorough independence of spirit, the two qualities which markedly distinguished him and made him a pattern to his countrymen, were the firm self-reliance, and the indomitable energy, which never, under any circumstances,

deserted him in life. Dr. D. B. Smith said that he had known the deceased for about twenty years and could concur with those gentlemen who had spoken in bearing testimony to the "beauty of his character." The Rev. Mr. Dall remarked "Next June would make thirty years from the happy day when he first shook the hand of Peary Chand Mittra, and from that moment he found that he had a brother man by his side." The other speakers in the meeting were Mr. Maneckjee Rustomjee, Babus Dwijendra Nath Tagore, Joy Kissen Mookerjee, Shib Chunder Deb, Norendra Nath Sen, Nawab Abdul Latiff, Hajee Noor Mahomed Jacariah, etc.

The part which the European community, through some of their leading men, took in doing honour to the deceased was a most gratifying one. After the hurricane of the Ilbert Bill agitation, one could little expect that European gentlemen would come forward to bear personal testimony to the talents, virtues, and services of Indian gentlemen.

A Committee was formed with Maharajah Sir Norendra Krishna as president and subscriptions were invited. Maharsi Debendra Nath Tagore paid a subscription of Rs. 1,000. A marble bust was placed in the Town Hall. Besides this the Committee paid to the Calcutta University Rs. 600 for a silver medal and also for a water trough to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. The bust was unveiled by Sir Rivers Thompson, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. His Honour concluded his speech thus :—"I can recall, too, that in all our intercourse we found him temperate in counsel, moderate in language, genial in his manners, and keeping up kindly courtesy amid all difficulties and acrimonies of the day. I think you are right, therefore, in perpetuating his memory in this Town Hall. The Valhalla was said, in Scandinavian mythology, to be the place of immortality for the souls of departed heroes who had fallen in battle. Peary Chand owed nothing of his success to the profession of arms or the success of an administrator, but he offered us an instance of a private individual who took the utmost advantage of his opportunities to establish a name in all directions to which I have alluded, and thus secured for himself throughout this large community of Calcutta and its neighbourhood the high esteem and regard

of his fellow-men. You are right, therefore, in giving him a niche among the many celebrities whose names will be connected with Indian history, and whose portraits, statues, and busts are contained in this Town Hall of Calcutta."

The Lieutenant-Governor was right in remarking that "Peary Chand owed nothing of his success to the profession of arms." He was born to fight, not with carnal weapons, but as one sent of God:—

—"To fight all wrongs  
However high the wronger be."

If men of Peary Chand Mittra's type were more numerous among us, we should feel little anxiety for the future destinies of our country.

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## Art. VI.—KHASI CUSTOMS.

THE Khasias and the Syntengs are much alike in their habits and customs, but they differ in appearance. The Khasias are, commonly, short, stout, and muscular, their calves in particular being markedly developed,—and they are fair complexioned. The Syntengs are a little darker but better looking. The nose is generally a little depressed “with a peculiar conformation towards the forehead at the glabellum, which is very flat and broad,” the face broad, flat, and squarish, with high and rounded cheekbones, the skull globular rather than square, the eyes middle-sized and black with a yellow tinge in the eye-balls, the eye-lids obliquely set, the mouth large with prominent though not very thick lips, the hair black and thick and worn long, the orthodox style being to tie it up in a knot at the back, varying little with sex, the beard remarkably sparse, but the moustache more abundant than the beard. The lower classes go bare-headed, but they have a head-dress in the form of a turban. The wealthier classes generally put on a turban of silk and will scarcely be seen going about without that head-dress. The over-developed calves are considered to be an element of beauty, more especially in the case of women, who on the average are fairer and handsomer than the men. The people of these hills live in regular villages, which are placed on the side of a hill or in the neighbourhood of a wood, thus affording protection and resistance in case of an attack. These villages are mostly on fixed sites, which have not changed for generations, the reason of this is that the people are very much attached to these sites on account of the family tombs standing there. The Khasi houses, which are generally on raised plinths with planked floors and plastered walls, are better than Synteng houses which have floors of beaten earth. The houses have a front porch and the interior is generally divided into two parts, the inner being used as a bed-room, and the outer as a sitting-room and kitchen, cooking being done on the floor.



The males, both among Khasias and Synténgs, wear an almost similar dress, which consists of a sleeveless cotton shirt manufactured in the hills, with a *chudder* and a head-dress either a pointed cap or a turban. Almost invariably a small netted bag is slung over the shoulder (and this is common to both the sexes), which contains the knife and materials for the preparation of *pán*. The Khasi female dress differs somewhat from that of the Synténgs. The Khasi women wear a striped cloth tied round the waist, hanging down to the knees, and another cloth, with a fringed border, knotted on both the shoulders to cover the breasts, and an underclothing, reaching a little below the knees. A cloth, knotted in front, is worn like a cloak over the shoulders, and they are, of course, silk fabrics, striped in red and white in the case of rich people. The Synténg women wear a cloth round the body fastened above the breasts and dropping down to the ankles with another cloth thrown over the shoulders and crossed in front. On funeral and other festive occasions, very handsome and expensive dresses are worn by both the Khasias and the Synténgs, consisting of silk and velvet jackets, and silk *chudders* with ornaments of gold and silver. The women, on these occasions, wear a circlet of silver with a spear-head ornament in front rising four or five inches from the forehead. The chiefs and their principal followers wear very costly ornaments and the males generally wear various ornaments while dancing. These dances with the drums and a sort of whistling pipes are the means of occasional amusements. The dances are the necessary accompaniments of festive occasions, and the funerals of the great and the good of all classes are performed by dancing, which is a sign of respect paid to the deceased, and which continues for days together. The Nongkrem *nautch*, which takes place annually at the palace of the Seim of Khyrim at Smit, is so famous an institution that even some of the Government offices at Shillong are given a holiday or a half holiday to enable the officers and clerks to witness the dance. The Chief Commissioner and other European residents of Shillong also grace the occasion at times with their presence at the Seim's head-quarters. The males dance with arms—sword and spear,—and it was an attempt of the police to disarm the

Synteng dancers, that led to a general rising throughout the Jaintia Hills many years ago.

The people generally take two meals a day, and their staple food is rice and dried fish. They are fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork, and many of them do not scruple to eat the flesh of tigers, leopards, etc. Some of the Syntengs and Khasias on the Sylhet border, however, abstain from beef, and this points to their being partially Hinduised. Neither the Khasias nor the Syntengs will eat dog's flesh which, as is well known, is freely eaten by the neighbouring hill tribes—the Nagas and the Kukis. These hill people are very revengeful as the other hill tribes also are, and they take revenge even on the lice. If one is asked why he eats the lice he will at once answer that because the lice suck his blood so he in return eats them. Both men and women are much addicted to chewing betel leaves with which a small portion of lime and a root of a peculiar sort of indigenous plants of the hill are usually mixed. They measure distance by the number of *pans* consumed in the course of a journey. The men, both Khasias and Syntengs, smoke a great deal of tobacco (it is to be noted that tobacco is now-a-days almost entirely superseded by cigarettes, and boys of three or four years are often found with a cigarette in their mouths), but the women do not smoke at all. Strong spirits are distilled from rice and millet and a fermented liquor is also made. The males are much given to drinking, but the vice is rare in females.

#### MARRIAGE AMONG THE KHASIAS.

The marriageable age for females is from 15 to 18, but that for males is from 18 to 24. The marriage is purely a civil contract with nothing for its object than the procreation of children, and failing that, it is no longer looked upon as a contract binding the parties down permanently. In certain cases a sort of wooing takes place before the formalities of marriage are gone into, but in others there is no courtship, the preliminaries of marriage being settled by the parents or guardians of the parties or the living representatives of families. Everything thus arranged, the bridegroom elect goes to the house of the bride with a number of his relations and friends, where the relations and friends of the bride's party also

assemble, and before witnesses the couple is pronounced to be husband and wife. Where the parties can afford it, a feast, consisting of fresh pork and beef accompanied with large quantities of strong liquor, is given. Sometimes the bridegroom takes his wife on the following morning to his own house and entertains the friends and relatives of the bride, who may accompany the pair, with dishes of boiled rice and fresh pork and *kakyat* (wine). After sojourn for a day or two there the married couple return together to the house of the wife, where she resides, as of old, the husband having his *entrée* there. The man, however, continues to take his meals with his own family, and so long as he does so his earnings go to his mother or his other female relatives. But if the man is satisfied with his wife, he builds a house where he and his wife with children live together, and thenceforth their earnings become their common property. The wife is not at all dependent on the husband, and in common with other hill tribes and unlike the Hindus, they are bound down, at the time of marriage, by a mutual promise to help each other in every walk of life. The wife follows the husband, as a shadow does the substance, in all matters, so long only as they remain faithful to each other and the marriage bond is very loose here as in other hills and divorce is of constant occurrence, even among the Native Christians. It is always a problem with the Christian and Brahmo missionaries in the Khasi Hills how to set this state of things right, to make the marriage bond firmer and tighter, to import into the Khasias of all classes a better sense of what is meant by marriage than that which is at present entertained by them, that is to say, having for its object the procreation of children only. The arrangements to effect a divorce among the Khasias are very simple, in the case of Native Christians, the Indian Divorce Act being applicable. A Khasi divorce must take place before a number of witnesses, one of whom takes five *cowries* from the woman, previously handed over to her by the husband and throws them away. A divorce thus effected makes the parties at once free and they are never allowed again to contract a marriage among themselves though they are quite at liberty to marry in other families. Among the Syntengs divorce is of a still simpler form,

and the male is required to give the female a silver coin in the presence of one of the village authorities; the marriage is then declared to have dissolved, but during the pregnancy of the wife the husband cannot, of course, divorce his wife, and should a husband leave his wife without her consent he forfeits everything that has been expended on her, or, in the opposite case, a wife would have to repay all that her husband may have expended on her account. In any case the children remain with the mother. The dissolution of marriage is effected by regular divorce, on the ground of any sufficient cause existing between the parties, and often without any assignable reason, except for mutual dislike or for want of issue, the latter being the commonest of all. An official authority describes the marriage custom among the Kukis of the Jaintia Hills as follows:—"Early marriage is unknown, and marriage is dependent on the pleasure of the girl." Brass plates and liquor are given by the bridegroom to the parents of the girl. Thus, when the girl has consented, the bridegroom gives six *thalis* to the parents or guardian of the girl. Then he visits them and gives them liquor; at the second visit he gives one *thali* and more liquor; at the third visit more liquor and five *thalis*. Then the marriage is celebrated and at this, much liquor is consumed, and a breeding pig, and a laying fowl given by the bridegroom to the girl's guardians." About divorce, the same authority goes on:—"If a man divorces his wife before children are born to him, the village elders try him and fine him. If after children have been born, he is tried and fined, only more heavily than when there are no children, the fine being five *thalis* of different sizes and values. The children go with the mother if the father is in fault; with the father, if the mother is in fault. After divorce either can re-marry. If the father has the children, and re-marries, he still keeps them. If the mother has them and re-marries, her parents and brothers take them. Incompatibility of temper is sufficient reason for divorce. A woman seeking for a divorce, after children have been born to her is an unknown thing. If a man on being divorced is fined and is unable to pay, his clan pay for him at once." This account does not apply to the marriage of Khasi converts to Christianity which is performed according to Christian rites.

The marriages among the Mikirs of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills are generally performed on nearly the same lines as those of the Assamese. A girl is betrothed to a man when only four or five years of age. The parents on each side, or the man himself arrange the matter. If the parents of the girl consent, the bridegroom or his parents give them a bottle of liquor as a sign of betrothal. When the girl is ready to be married, and is old enough, a day is fixed for a feast. The bridegroom or his parents feed all the friends and relations on both sides, and remains the night with his wife in the house of her parents. Next morning he takes the bride off to his own house. He never lives with her in her parents' house. The only restriction in these marriage customs is that the members of the same clan cannot marry among themselves. Among the Mikirs, too, marriages are dissoluble and the simple dissatisfaction with a wife, is held to be a sufficient reason for a divorce. The wife, too, in the same way, is quite at liberty to divorce the husband. In either case, if divorce is insisted on without good grounds, the party wishing it has to pay a fine of ten annas to *Dalai*, *pator*, and elders of the village to buy liquor with. The children in every case, unlike the Khasias and the Syntengs, remain with the father.

#### FUNERAL CUSTOMS AMONG THE KHASIAS.

Both the Khasias and the Syntengs burn their dead, but the Native Christians, who are over sixteen thousand in number in these hills, bury their dead according to Christian rites and practices. This account deals, however, only with the indigenous customs of the Khasias. The corpse is carried to the cremation ground either in a sort of coffin, or simply rolled up in a mat. Before the burning takes place two arrows are shot, one to the east and the other to the west. This is a Khasi custom and it means that the arrows thus shot forth will protect the departed soul in the course of its journey to the other world. And to ensure a safe and undisturbed journey the Khasias kill a cock, which, it is generally believed, will show the dead the way to the other world, and also wake him at dawn, so that the departed soul may properly pursue its journey. The funeral rites and ceremonies are generally performed by the maternal relatives of the deceased and each

tribe or family has its own burning ground. The bodies of the wealthier classes are burnt on large raised altars. The uncalcined bones are carefully collected in an earthen pot and placed under a hollow tomb of horizontal slabs, to be removed to the common sepulchre of the tribe at a convenient time. Before the corpse is taken out of the house an egg is invariably placed over the *navel* of the deceased, and in the case of a Khasia the egg is broken on the funeral pile, while the Syntengs put the egg to the west of the dead body, in the burning *ghât*. The egg is believed to represent the original germ of life and its destruction to symbolise its death. The removal of the remains of the great and the good of the tribe is generally done with much pomp and show. Feasting and dancing take place for several days, and animals are sacrificed especially for the occasion. The dancers, both male and female, who assemble in large numbers on the occasion, and are sometimes collected from distant villages, are dressed in very gay and expensive clothing, silks, satins, and velvets being often procured for the purpose. Various ornaments are also worn by persons of both sexes. The women especially wear a circlet of silver round the head, with a pointed spear-head. On these occasions, men and women as a rule dance separately, the latter standing in a circle within, surrounded by the male dancers and performing a monotonous figure in which the feet are hardly raised from the ground. The men execute a more vigorous dance accompanied with a good deal of action, carrying in one hand a sword and in the other a small shield.

#### MEMORIAL TO THE KHASIA DEAD.

Everyone who has passed through these hills must have noticed long lines of upright stones along the roads and foot-paths. The groups of these stones form a remarkable feature in the Khasi Hills, are meant as memorials to the dead, and are often placed in the neighbourhood of villages. These groups of stones are most commonly erected and placed by the side of public roads and village paths, the idea being that the spirits of the dead will be gratified by memorials to them being placed in such positions where they will be constantly noticed by passers-by. These stones are of various sizes and placed in a line beautifully designed, the higher one being put in the centre

and covered with a round flat stone, and the lower ones on each side. A group of these stones generally consists of three to seven stones, but there are larger groups also. It is not an uncommon or unusual thing that stones are afterwards added to these groups in honour of other deceased members of the family, or sometimes, it is said, even by the people of other families in honour of the departed members of their respective families. As a rule, these stones are in the first instance to be put up by the maternal relatives of the deceased, the central one being raised in honour of the maternal uncle and the side stones being for the deceased and his father or other dead members of the family.

#### RELIGION OF THE KHASIAS.

The Khasias certainly believe in a Supreme Being, the Spirit God, the Creator of the world, all good and all powerful, but so good and kind that he needs no propitiation in the way of worship or offering. This Khasia idea of God resembles more or less the Hindu idea of the philosophic *Brahman*. They have also a further belief in subordinate deities, Spirit Gods, and if the practical side of religion be regarded in preference to the theoretical one, then the religion of the Khasias may be put down as animism rather than monotheism, if animism is what Dr. Tiele defines it to be. He says that :—" Animism is the belief in the existence of souls or spirits, of which only the powerful, those on which man feels himself dependent, and before which he stands in awe, acquire the rank of divine beings and become the objects of worship. These spirits are conceived as moving freely through earth and air, and either of their own accord, or because conjured by some spell and thus under compulsion, appearing to men. But they may also take up their abode either permanently or temporarily in some object, whether lifeless or living it matters not, and this object, as endowed with higher power, is then worshipped or employed to protect individuals or communities." And these Khasia deities, they believe, are without form and live in groves and streams, in rocks and caves. Offerings are made to these deities only to ensure a good harvest or other temporal blessings, or to induce them to exercise the powers which they are supposed to possess over the evil spirits. The spirits of the deceased relatives also, like

the deities and the demons, have to be propitiated by offerings. Sickness and calamity are attributed to the influence of some evil spirit, and, in each case, the first step taken is to ascertain which particular spirit is at work; and for this, they have an institution of egg-healing which is brought into play. A description of this egg-healing institution is thus given:—"An expert (but not a professional one,—there is no class of professional worshippers as the priests of the Hindus are), is set down before a board, in the centre of which he places an egg on a few grains of rice; after invoking the egg to speak the truth, he sweeps the rice off the board, excepting one grain left on any spot his fancy dictates. Then naming a particular spirit, he asks if he be the cause of evil, a part of the shell of the egg may be deposited near the grain of rice; he then strikes the egg sharply on the centre of the board. This process is repeated, if necessary, till the required information is obtained. The next thing is to discover what sort of offering will be acceptable to the spirit. This is ascertained in a precisely similar way, but the desired result is often not arrived at till much time and many scores of eggs have been expended."

"In the Jaintia Hills, offerings are made to the deities through the elected priests called Langdohs; but, in other parts of these hills such offerings are made by one of the clan or family chosen for the occasion. Eggs with rice and curry, and almost all kinds of domestic beasts and birds are presented as offerings, either by the community or family, for general purposes, or specially by individuals in cases of sickness or other evil. The Khasias believe in metempsychosis or the transmigration of souls. After death human beings are transformed into monkeys, crabs, or tortoises, etc., but though a future state is not denied, it is treated with absolute indifference. The caste system, as it is understood in the case of the Hindus, is entirely absent in these hills; but each clan or family is named after some object of nature, and these names impose certain restrictions beyond which intermarriage is forbidden.



## Art. VII.—THE METRICAL VERSIONS OF THE PSALMS.

### MINOR VERSIONS.

THOMAS BRAMPTON'S version of the Seven Penitential Psalms is the earliest specimen of an English metrical version, and bears the date 1414 A.D. "There is a singular mixture," says Holland "of Anglo-Saxon characters and old English words which shows that the Version was made when language was in a transition state."

In 1549 *George Buchanan*, the Scottish Historian, while confined in a Portuguese monastery by the officers of the Inquisition, translated the Psalms into Latin verse, and afterwards printed them. *Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis Poetica* is its title, and in it no less than twenty-nine varieties of metre are found. Edward Irving says that Buchanan's Version of the 104th Psalm might alone have conferred upon him the character of a poet.

The first metrical Version of the whole Psalter was that by *Robert Crowley*, Fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford, who died 1588. The title runs as follows:—"The Psalter of David, newly translated into English metre in such sort that it maye the more decently, and with the more delyte of the mynde be reade and songe of all men." His verses are not of a very high order, as the following of Psalm cxii., verses 6, 7, and 8 testify:—

"For he shall never be moved, tyll  
tyme of tymes be paste :  
And for ever hys righteousness,  
and hys instice shall laste  
And when he heareth heauey newes,  
Fear shall hym nothyngē prycke  
Because his herte is stablished, and  
dooeth to the LORDE stycke."

To *Archbishop Parker* must be assigned the second complete version of the Psalms in English metre. It was completed in the year 1557 before he became Primæ, and printed without date or translator's name. The title is

as follows:—"The whole Psalter translated into English metre, which containeth an hundredth and fifty Psalmes. The first Quinquagene '*Quoniam omnis terrae deus, psallite sapienter.*' Psalm xiv. 47. Imprinted at London by John Daye dwelling over Aldersgate beneath Saint Martyn's. *Cum privilegio per decennium.*" It contains a curious rhyming Preface, consisting of upwards of 50 verses like the following:—

"Herein because : all men's delight,  
 Bene diverse found in mind :  
 I turn'd the Psalmes ; all whole in sight,  
 In rhythms of divers kind.  
 And where at first : I secret meant,  
 But them myself to sing :  
 Yet friends request : made me relent,  
 Thus them abroad to bring.  
 Us song should move ; as sprite thereby,  
 Might tunes in concord sing  
 God grant these Psalmes ; might edify  
 That is the chieftest thing."

Each Psalm has a Collect and Argument prefixed.

It is supposed that Archbishop Parker intended his version to be sung in Cathedrals and Churches, for he has given these directions. "The tenor of these partes be for the people when they will syng alone, the other partes put for the greater quiers, or to suche as will syng or play them privately."

Miles Coverdale, some time Bishop of Exeter (died 1567) wrote some "Goastly psalmes and spirituall songes drawn out of the Holy Scripture for the comfort and consolation of soch as love to rejoyse in God and his Worde." The Psalms versified by Coverdale were Psalms 2, 11, 13, 24, 45, 80, 67, 123, 127, 129, 133, 136, 137. From a passage in Foxe's Book of Martyrs, Coverdale's book appears to have been one of those which in 1539 was forbidden by royal authority.

The Preface to "the Christian reader" says as follows:—"Wolde GOD that our mynstrely had none other thyng to whistle upon, save psalmes, hymns and soch godly songes as David is occupied with all. And that women syttinge at their rockes or spynnyng at the wheles, had none other songes to pass theyr tyme withall than soch as Moses sister,

Elchanah's wife, Debora, and Mary, the mother of CHRIST, have songe before them, they should be better occupied, then with *hey nony nony hey trolly lolly* and soch lyke fantasies. Therefore to geve oure youth of Englonde some occasion to chaunge theyr foul and corrupte balettes into swete songes and spirituall hymnes of God's honoure and for theyr owne consolacion in hym, I have here (good reader) set out certayne comfortable songes grounded on GOD'S word, and taken some out of the Holy Scriptures specyally out of the Psalmes of David, at who wolde to GOD, that our musicians wolde lerne to make theyr songes."

*King James I.* is supposed to have written a metrical version of the Psalms, although there is some doubt on the matter. As early as 1601, at a meeting of the General Assembly, a proposition was made for 'the correcting of the Psalms in metre: his Majesty did urge it earnestly . . . and when he came to speak of Psalms, did recite whole verses of the same, shewing both the faults of the metre, and the discrepance from the text.\*

On King James' death in 1625, Bishop Williams in a sermon says—"This translation (of Psalms) he was in hand with, when God called him to sing Psalms with the angels. He intended to have finished and dedicated it to the only saint of his devotion—the Church of Great Britain and that of Ireland. This work was staid in the one and thirtieth Psalm,' and in the British Museum is a MS. in the handwriting of King James, comprising versions more or less perfect of thirty-one Psalms. Brown in his Introduction to the authorised Scotch Version says:—"King James VI. revised a great number of the Psalms, and left the 'rest' in the care of William Alexander of Menstue, Earl of Sterling." On the other hand, Boyd attributes the Version to the old Scottish Poet, without naming the King at all, and Holland says:—"He can hardly, however, be acquitted in the matter before us, of having endeavoured, on whatever conditions, to appropriate the credit of poetical skill far superior to his own."

\* Spotiswood.

It is well known, says Dr. Lee of Edinburgh, in 1826 that Sir William Alexander was the translator of most of the Psalms in the collection ascribed to King James.

*George Sandys* in 1636 published "A Paraphrase upon the Psalms of David ; set to new Tunes for private devotion : and a thorar Base for voice or Instrument."

Montgomery says of them that they are "incomparably the most poetical in the English language," and they were the solace of the Martyr-king, Charles I., while a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle.

The version of Sternhold and Hopkins formed the basis of the first *Presbyterian Psalter*, and it was brought from Geneva by John Knox and the other Scotch exiles in 1559. The exiles versified seventy-two of the Psalms, the remaining seventy-eight being taken from the Old Version, more or less altered. There were two editions of this *Genevan Psalter*—that published by Robert Leprevik (1564-5) is commonly known as the Old or John Knox's Psalter. "For a hundred years this book was the channel through which the religious life of a nation gave utterance to devotion and praise, for during all this time there was but one Protestant Communion in Scotland."

There were several efforts to oust this Psalter from its place, including the attempt to introduce the, so-called, Psalter of King James I., and it was finally superseded in 1650, by the Version which was the outcome of the deliberations of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, on the recommendation of the House of Commons! The Version, thus hastily adopted, was one founded on that of Francis Rous, Provost of Eton, in the time of the Commonwealth, and M. P. for Cornwall ; and it is to be noticed that the one book, which more than any other, has impressed itself on the religious life of Scotland should be almost wholly of English origin. This version has now become an old version, indeed none has had so long an existence, if we except the French version, and certainly none has made a home for itself in so many lands. It is woven into the spiritual life of every Scotchman, and was carried into every country whither he went. Dr Chalmers thinks it has "a charm peculiar to itself"—and it was no doubt

on the lips of the dying 'Sir Walter Scott, as it was upon many others. "When asked, 'What book they should read to him?' and he replied, 'Can you ask? There is but one, they could hear in his wandering words, murmured snatches of the old version of the Psalms mingled with the cadences of the *Dies Iræ*. Episcopalian as he was, he would have walked all the way with that Scots man in England who was accustomed to travel twenty miles that he might get 'a guid sing at the auld Psalms.'\*

"The present version of the Psalms possesses claims on the veneration and regard of Scottish Christians which no other can possibly have, how high soever its poetic excellence and beauty. It has given expression to the patriotism and piety of our ancestors in the dismal days of persecution, when to worship GOD according to His Word, and the dictates of a sanctified and enlightened conscience was punishable with death. Its 'grave sweet melody' has awakened the echoes of our glens and mountains, and been swept in plaintive wail on moorland breezes, the worshippers compelled to seek such solitudes for safety to pay their devotions to the GOD of heaven. It has been instrumental in quickening the faith, and stimulating the fortitude of our fathers under trials, peculiarly affecting trials of which we, in these days, 'happily know nothing. Its strains have been poured into the ear of the martyrs' GOD from the dungeon, the scaffold and the stake, expressive of the martyrs' heavenward hope, and re-invigorating them in every heavenly grace. Thousands and thousands have passed away to that better land with its cheering language on their lips. For generations our fathers have given expression to their soul's deepest feelings in the praises of GOD in its inspiring language. It has been impressed upon our hearts in the morning and evening service of song around the family altar. We have learned it at a parent's knee. It has formed an element in our education of public schools. It is inextricably interwoven with our religious literature, and has acted an important part in the formation of our religious character. Its expressions spring most readily to our lips when we seek to give utterance to our religious feelings and

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\* *The Psalms in History and Biography.*

experiences. Doubtless it will become antiquated and obsolete. But whatever changes may take place in the English language, whatever alteration or improvement may be made in the service of the sanctuary, centuries will come and go before this old version is lost sight of and forgotten by the Christian folk of Scotland.”\*

*Dr. Isaac Watts* (died 1748) wrote:—“The Psalms of David, imitated in the language of the New Testament, and applied to the Christian State and Worship.” Barely forty years ago this version was sung in every orthodox Nonconformist place of worship and now it has almost altogether vanished from the land. William Romaine, the popular Calvinistic divine in the first edition of his *Treatise on Psalmody*, spoke contemptuously of “Watts’ Whims” as he called them.

“As for his Psalms” he says:—“They are so far from the mind of the Spirit, that I am sure if David were to read them, he would not know any one of them to be his. The Scripture wants no mending, nay, it is always worse for mending.”

Lady Huntingdon, however, persuaded Mr. Romaine to omit his sneer about “Watts’ Whims,” in the second edition of his book.

The work of Dr. Watts was really a Hymn Book based on the Psalter. “’Tis not,” he writes to Cotton Mathér, in 1717 “a translation of David that I pretend, but our imitation of him so nearly in Christian hymns that the Jewish Psalmist may plainly appear, and yet leave Judaism behind.” As such it was a most successful effort, and such hymns of praise as “O God, our help in ages past,” “JESUS shall reign where’er the sun,” and “I’ll praise my Maker while I’ve breath” will always remain treasures of the Church of God.

Passing by many valuable renderings of individual Psalms such as those by Milton, Charles Wesley, James Montgomery in his “Imitations of Psalms,” Burns, Lord Byron, Harriet Auber, Sir Robert Grant, and versions of the whole Psalter by Bishop Mant; Henry F. Lyte, Archdeacon Churton, and the Marquis of Lorne, we must pay a passing tribute to one version of great merit, though strangely little known.

\* *History of the Scottish Metrical Psalms*, by the Rev. J. W. MacMeeken

It bears no author's name, and is known as "*the Oxford Psalter*" "*The Psalter or Psalms of David, in English Verse ; by a member of the University of Oxford.*" It is now, however, known to be the work of Keble, the sainted author of the *Christian year*, and is included in his *collected writings*. Holland speaks of him as "one of the University Confederacy in that singular attempt recently made to revive in the English Church, certain obsolete opinions and ceremonials often akin to Romanism, and which has been called from the name of the learned Hebrew Professor who took the lead in the zealous movement—*Puseyism*." !

Like Sternhold, Mr. Keble makes his translation direct from the Hebrew and his "translations are remarkable for literalness and force, with a ruggedness of diction that seems often deliberate : the main defect of the work lying in the effort to be at once literal and picturesque. This version had "the benefit of Dr. Pusey's most kind and thoughtful revision, and it is a pity that this excellent translation is not more known than it is," indeed it has been out of print for some years.\* Mr. Keble was "not without hope, that (with the permission of those in authority) it may be found occasionally useful for congregational singing. With a view to this, it has been endeavoured, in each Psalm or part of a Psalm to have at least four consecutive stanzas, which by their easy flow, and adaptation to some simple tune, might without much difficulty, be used by ordinary worshippers." The custom, however, of singing metrical versions of the Psalms has gone, and not even Mr. Keble's beautiful and literal version can take the place of the inspired songs of David the king.

M. A. (Cambridge).

## Art. VII.—THE SADHU PROBLEM IN INDIA.

I THINK no other country is so full of Sannyasis and Fakirs, Param-Hansas and Sufis, Sadhus and Mollas of all sorts and denominations as India. The reason why in India these people flourish is a very simple one. The life of a tramp is easy in this country, a thief as well as an honest beggar is likely to get alms from any house in India by appearing as a Sannyasi or Fakir; for the people are mightily afraid of being cursed by a beggar if he is turned out without alms. So, many idlers, not caring to earn a living by honest industry put on the garb of a Sadhu and easily maintain themselves by begging. Hence amongst Sannyasis and Sadhus in this country now-a-days, only a few true and respectable men who have really relinquished all worldly desires and subdued their passions are to be found, as the majority of them are simply beggars, thieves, bad characters, and even criminals evading the clutches of justice. The truth of this fact will appear to anyone who takes the trouble to read reports of the detectives and investigating police officers. I have personally known cases where the police arrested amongst these Sannyasis, men who were under warrant for a murder case or belonged to a gang of dacoits.

The regeneration of this class is badly needed in India. I find that one Mr. Tahl Ram and a few friends of his in the Punjab have taken up the question of educating these Sadhus. Mr. Tahl Ram's idea is, that amongst the Sadhus many men well versed in the Hindu shastras and schools of philosophy are to be found, and that it would be a good thing to turn such men into social reformers. I am afraid this scheme cannot be a very successful one. It would certainly be a good thing to pick out the educated men from the Sadhus and make their talents known to the world at large, but I doubt if they would be able to do much good by becoming social reformers.

The social reforms much needed in this country are the emancipation and a better education of women; the remodelling of the rules of marriage, etc., and the abolition



of numerous rites which, whatever their intention might have been in the past, have become meaningless and burdensome in modern times. Such reforms can only be introduced if the Pandits and priests of the different castes are brought to understand the modern needs; and it is for the educated society men in this country and not for the Sadhus, to bring home to the Pandits the necessity of such reforms and modifications. For no amount of lectures from Sannyasis or Sadhus or Arya and Bramho Samajis will have any effect on the present society until and unless the rich and influential men are educated well enough to understand the wants of society and until they set, about in right earnest to work for the bettering of it.

If, therefore, instead of trying to turn these educated Sadhus into social reformers an effort were made to establish religious brotherhoods like that of the Jesuit fathers of the Roman Catholic Church some really good institutions would be founded. The learned men could in that case turn their attention to the numerous ignorant Sannyasis and Sadhus who have donned the yellow or red garb for fear of being hanged or sent to jail, and try and make them lead a better life, either by practising penances or (what would be far better) by gradually increasing the strength of the brotherhood by educating their ignorant brethren. There would thus grow up a community devoted to a mission of charity whose members would go about from village to village teaching and enlightening the poor ignorant folk about God and the living Religion of God, which is the true Religion of India, a few sparks of which can be seen amongst the followers of Dayananda, Rammohan, and Ramakrishna, who could do much better work if they were not so easily led to quarrel amongst themselves and thereby waste their energy.

Further it would be a great boon to the country if the Feudatory Chiefs in India or zemindars (with permission of the Government) could start work-houses in India. Such institutions would be most useful as they would give honest occupation to an enormous amount of people in India who have become habitual idlers by leading the lives of tramps or beggars, which demoralize them and the country alike. I remember an instance which occurred when I was touring

in a certain portion of my estate, in November last. It will show how strangely the ranks of the Sadhus are recruited and how many are forced—much against their inclination—to adopt this mendicant life. One morning I noticed in front of the house in which I was staying a young Sadhu under a big banyan tree painted with the usual ochre and sandal paste marks on the forehead, playing on a harmonium. The tunes he was playing were none too religious but smacked of the Bengali Music Hall. In the evening I sent for him and enquired all about his life : where he had been born, at what age he had taken to this order ; where he had learned to play on the harmonium and how he had picked up such flippant tunes. I learned that his father had been childless for long and in his father's village near Brindabun in the United Provinces, there lived a Sannyasi to whom his father went to pray for children. The Sannyasi blessed him and said he would have two sons, but that as soon as the second son was born he would have to hand over the first boy to the Sannyasi to be made his *chela* or disciple : according to the Sannyasi's saying two sons were born and this Sadhu with the harmonium was the first child of the villager at Brindabun who kept his promise and gave his oldest son away as soon as the second one was born. This boy who was obliged to be a Sannyasi, had, after his guru's death, come away from Brindabun with a certain rich Babu of Calcutta who had gone to visit the town, and that in his house he had learned the Bengali airs and to play on the harmonium, and now he was going about from place to place with a harmonium as he was fond of music. He was quite a young man and when I questioned him whether he had worldly desires or not, and whether he would like to marry and settle down as a good householder and still keep up his prayers and follow his guru's orders, he was greatly puzzled and kept silent for a time, then his face brightened up and he said, "You are quite right sir, I am not fit to be a Sannyasi as yet, but must go about as one to earn my livelihood." With these words he left my presence and next morning I found on enquiry that he had gone away. Several cases like this have come to my notice as I have always taken a great interest in Sannyasis and Sadhus myself, and I am convinced that steps to reform them will prove most beneficial

and save from a deceitful existence many a man who under the pretext of Sadhuhood is leading a wicked life and thereby tainting the good name of Sannyasi, a few genuine holders of which are still, perhaps, to be found in the holy recesses of the Himalayas. Such pseudo-Sadhus as abound in India at the present day are a danger to society and I quote a couple of passages from the Shastras to convince the timid and weak ritual-ridden Hindu that the Shastras do not tolerate false Sadhudom.

In Daksha Smriti we find :—

ত্রিদণ্ডব্যপদেশেন জীবন্তি বহুবো নরাঃ ।

যন্ত ব্রহ্ম ন জানাতি ন ত্রিদণ্ডী হিসন্ততঃ ॥

নাথোতবাং ন বরুকাং ন শ্রোতবাং কথকন ।

এতঃ সর্বৈঃ স্বেচ্ছায়ো যতিভবতি নেতবঃ ॥

পাতিব্রাজাং গৃহীতা ভূ যঃ স্বধর্ম্মে ন তিষ্ঠতি ।

প্রশাদেনাকৃষিত্বা স্বং ব্রাজা শীঘ্রম্প্রবাসয়েৎ ॥

৭।৩৩-৩৫ ।

Many live under the pretext of being Tridandin (Sannyasins). But he who is not Bramajwa (one knowing God) is no Tridandin. None should learn from him, none should speak to him, and none should hear his advice. A real saint is he who has attained to the stage of Sannyasi by performing all the duties mentioned in the Shastras. He alone is a saint and none other. He who having adopted the fourth stage (*i.e.*, Sadhuhood) cannot follow the rules of that order, should be scratched with the foot of a dog and banished from the country by the King.

Manu says—

“He who has become a Sadhu in order to earn a living commits a great sin and has to be reborn amongst the lower animals.”

There are many such texts in the Hindu Dharma Shastras which clearly show that the ancient law makers thoroughly understood the evil of false Sannyasiism. It would, indeed, be doing a great good to the country if the rich men with the help of the Pandits and real Sadhus tried and saved from a life of deception and degradation those men who under the pretext of holiness are leading a life of immorality.

B. C. MAHTAB.

## Art. IX.—THE AIM OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN INDIA.

ἐν ἀπάσῃ ἀπάσῃ, πρᾶξει καὶ προαιρέσει τὸ τέλος.

IT is a demonstrably futile and impossible undertaking, and yet we are doing it! All the people who have thought about it theoretically or practically from the time of Comenius tell us that education must be through the mother tongue. We are educating young India, not merely through a foreign language, but through a foreign language of entirely alien structure and genius. And as to the larger aspects of western education as a psychological and social question, popular gnomonic wisdom is at one with the pronouncements of the profoundest thinkers in affirming the essential immutability of the East. "East and West" writes Mr. Meredith Townsend "are separated by a gulf of thoughts, aspirations and conclusions, and where is the evidence that the gulf is closing up?" The same thing is said by Mr. Rudyard Kipling in his terser and more popular style

"Oh East is East and West is West."

•The present educational stir and the complaints of the ill-success of English education which have poured forth in connection with it are proof enough that education according to western ideas, as extended in ever widening compass since 1835, has not been completely satisfactory. But these discouraging facts and opinions are not cited here with a view to disparaging the great educational effort now being made in India, but only to lay renewed stress upon the enormous difficulty of the task that has been undertaken, and so to make good the necessity of keeping our eyes fixed steadily on the end we have chosen to set before ourselves and the justification of the way in which we are trying to reach it. An attempt will be made in this paper first to consider what was originally implied in the choice of English as the medium of instruction for higher education in India; secondly, to define more exactly the special character of the aim of this "English education" involved in the choice that has been made; thirdly, to point out the practical conclusions that follow in respect of university reform.

A word is first needed as to the meaning of the phrase English education. It is a convenient term to cover the education that is being given in the secondary schools and by the universities in India; but it is liable to become misleading and sometimes creates prejudice. In its strict use the phrase merely indicates the fact that in colleges and secondary schools in India English has been taken as the medium of instruction. This is its whole technical connotation. It is apt to suggest very much more as that in some way the education itself is characteristically English. Some features, no doubt, the education of our schools and colleges owes—and happily owes—to the fact that the system has been instituted under British rule, and has largely been inspired and worked by Englishmen. Yet the education itself is in no exclusive sense English. To call it English in that sense is to narrow it unduly. It would be more true to call it European or Western: but these names also are narrow and misleading. The education that English administration is trying to promote and spread in India, is properly neither English, nor European, nor Western, nor in any fact any national or racial species of education whatever. It is simply education—that is training of mind and character according to the best principles that can be discovered. We are emphatically not trying to turn Hindus into Englishmen, Muhammedans into Christians, Asiatics into Europeans; but seeing by the proofs of history and by acknowledgment all but universal, sounder knowledge, better ideals of life, higher types of polity are now to be found in Europe than in Asia, we are freely imparting the sounder learning and the truer ideas to all who have the will and the ability to receive them.

Every one, doubtless, acknowledges in the abstract that it is a great misfortune that, in order to participate in the benefits of higher education, a child should be compelled to learn a difficult foreign language. When this necessity is extended till it reaches the colossal scale now seen in India, the handicap to success in higher education is greater than can well be estimated. But this state of things, unfortunate and unnatural as it is, cannot in India be helped. Its cause is the sum of all past India history. The unhappy course of that history

has made the necessity. The educator in India is only trying to mend the results of that unhappy history to the best of his ability. That education through English is now the only possible way is probably acquiesced in by all who think on the subject. It is so generally accepted that we are perhaps apt to forget the limitations which this necessity imposes on the scope of our endeavours and the completeness of our success, while the unthinking are allowed to make a grievance of the fact and to ignore the necessity.

Whether or no there ever was an ideal age of good government, prosperity and enlightenment in which all India shared, as nowadays under the stimulus of comparative prosperity and enlightenment some are fond of dreaming, is at best somewhat idle speculation. What we have to start from in respect of the new education is a very real state of degeneracy, ignorance and weakness. The weakness was both intellectual and moral. There can be no doubt that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the new education was first thought of as a possibility, education, learning, literature, science had sunk very low. It is equally beyond reasonable question that there prevailed generally a state of morals perverted in a manner fatal alike to individual happiness and collective efficiency. It was to retrieve this deplorable state of things that Warren Hastings and other enlightened men first began to try and restore the old learning by the encouragement of its literature and the foundation of seats of oriental education. It was when this first attempt proved altogether barren of good results that recourse was had to more thorough measures and the idea of regenerating India by means of the culture of the west came into being. The attempt to put life into the old learning had failed; there was still hope from the introduction of a new learning, which, while it drew its ultimate sources from the same great fountain heads in the East, had been enriched and expanded and renewed in the West through centuries during which the eastern intellect had remained stationary or had slowly declined.

It thus appears that a real moral and intellectual degeneracy was at bottom the cause which moved the pioneers of the educational movement of the last hundred years to advocate a

new and better form of education in India. This would be true even of those of them who were of Indian birth and who took a leading part in giving impetus to the movement for English education. The aspect of the matter which most influenced them was probably the inefficiency which was so conspicuous when the peoples of India were brought into collision with the nations of Europe, the intellectual stagnation and moral instability, as a result of which Hindustan had been torn to pieces by anarchy and left a helpless prey to adventurers home grown and imported. It was obvious that no remedy for the general inefficiency was to be found in the revival of the old learning. Accordingly Ram Mohan Roy voiced in 1823 a protest against restoring the ancient system of education at the Sanskrit College, which was then about to be founded. "The Sanskrit system of education," he wrote in a letter addressed to Lord Amherst "would be best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature;" and he asks for "a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sum proposed, by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning, educated in Europe, and providing a College furnished with the necessary books, instruments, and other apparatus." Ram Mohan Roy's protest was ineffectual at the time, and it was another thirty years before a college such as he suggested was founded by Government. But the germ of the whole system of English education, which has grown up since 1854, is there, and we may truly say that the impulse to the whole movement was a desire to remedy the general state of intellectual and moral impotence into which the Indian peoples had fallen, a wish to enable each successive generation of educated Indians to grow up, stronger, wiser, better. This and no other was the nature of the original impulse: the institution of a general system of Public instruction was a work of purest philanthropy as well as of wisest statesmanship. There is a tendency to forget this now. But it should never be forgotten, least of all by educated Indians.

Regeneration expresses in one word the end of the new education ; and most deeply considered the regeneration sought was a regeneration of character. But there was intellectual degeneracy too, and the means of regeneration were sought first in the intellectual sphere. It is not, however, enough to describe the end in this general way. It needs more particular definition, if it is to help us now in determining the aim of educational effort. We must consider more particularly in what respects Indian character and intellect were, and are, defective, in order to see in what precise direction the endeavour must be guided in order to make this intellect and character stronger, wiser and better.

The beginnings of the evil must be sought far back in the past, and in the mournful pages of Indian history ; we must go back to the earliest times of Mussulman invasion and even earlier. There is no need to determine how much was due to the decay of ancient ideals, to the caste system itself, to the deadening effect of the predominance of priestly formalism, paralysing independence of thought and character, shutting off India from the rest of the world, obscuring the true nature of man and his place in the universe ; or how much was due merely to the disintegrating effects of war and misgovernment. It is enough that a long process of social demoralization had gone on, and that foreign conquest and centuries of destructive conflict between races and creeds instead of purifying and reviving character in India had more and more atrophied the roots of honour and true manhood. Intrigue, treachery, falsehood, unscrupulous ambition and selfishness more and more prevailed, till they culminated in the moral and political chaos of the eighteenth century. The result on those who won their way to power was forcibly described by Mr. S. M. Mitra in the *Calcutta Review* for the last quarter "Brute force was the only principle recognized by these fortune's playthings for the hour," success amongst them justified all enormities ; honesty had ceased to guide their public relations ; treaty engagements were entered into only to be broken at the first opportunity ; assassination of an enemy, either by poison or the dagger, did not raise horror in a single breast and the sacred ties of kinship were broken with impunity." If this



was the effect of the conditions of life on the ruling classes the same conditions and the pernicious example of the rulers could not be without effect on all classes of society in varying degree. The foundations of morality were sapped, the sources of noble and disinterested character vitiated. And the effects remained even when as in Bengal the external conditions began to improve. There were virtues of many kinds in private life, in the family and in narrower social organizations analogous to the family, but public virtue when the East India Company became a power in India there was practically none. The whole history of the rise of that power is eloquent witness to the fact. "Patriotism is absolutely unknown in Hindustan" said Charles Grant in his *Observations on the state of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of Great Britain* written about 1792. "Selfishness, unrestrained by principle operates universally." This is on the moral side; on the intellectual side, and closely bound up with moral causes, was a gradual paralysis of the higher activities and faculties. India, which had once been intellectually foremost among the countries of the world, was now among the last. The power of original thinking had long been lost, there was scarcely even a respectable mediocrity in imitation and tradition. The old learning had fallen into utter decay; its professors were weak and incapable, hardly able to keep alive the embers of that which had once been living flame. Science depended wholly on tradition and authority; learning was a process of unintelligent memorizing, the reasoning powers were wasted on unprofitable subtleties. The Indian mind had lost the capacity for free enquiry and reasoned judgment. If India was to be regenerated morally and intellectually, these were the evils that had to be remedied. On the intellectual side what was needed was the awakening and strengthening of the powers of independent thought. On the moral side it was the revival of the robust virtues which have to do with the more public side of life in society—truth, honesty, sincerity, disinterestedness, public spirit. This gives us the exacter determination of the end which we require. The guiding aim of the new education on the intellectual side must be to cultivate independence of judgment; on the moral side to develop manly character, including in that term chiefly

truthfulness, moral courage and public spirit, together with all the virtues that make the disciplined type of character. If we say that *intellectual freedom and moral strength* are the ends, we have a convenient formula, sufficiently accurate for practical application.

This twofold end should control the whole educational movement in India and must be more specially applied to higher education, in which the scope is greater. The courses of study prescribed, the subjects—their number and extent—the methods of teaching and examining, the organization of schools and colleges should all have a close reference to the end. In cases of doubt and difficulty, the course which will best subserve these ends is the right course.

It may seem a somewhat ludicrous descent from the transcendental notions of national degeneracy and regeneration to plain questions of text-books and university courses and regulations for examinations. Yet the things are not disconnected; rather these dull details of university administration are the appointed means to the high ends which lie beyond and above.

"Oh 'tis easy  
To beget great deeds, but in the rearing of them,  
The threading in cold blood each mean detail,  
And fuzzebrake of half pertinent circumstance  
There lies the self-denial"

It was a long and difficult path on which the believer in education started, when the universities were founded in 1857. It was so felt in the beginning both by those who believed and those who doubted. The difficulties are set forth with admirable lucidity and reserve by Sir James Colville, in the first Convocation address delivered to the University on 11th December 1858. He urges the necessity of a definite and consistent policy. "The ship that is freighted with the enlightenment of millions ought to have a definite course." He expresses in conclusion his belief in the possibility of success. "If this be done, although I have dwelt mainly upon our difficulties and discouragements, I have no fear of the ultimate result. I cannot believe that Providence has built up an insuperable barrier between the thoughts and feelings of the Western and

those of the Eastern world, between races who, if ethnologists are right, are allied more closely than by their common humanity."

The true end "the enlightenment of millions" was clearly enough held in view at the beginning. It involved necessarily a revolution of ideas and a transformation of character—an intellectual and moral conversion. It required both in the promoters and participators a faith in the worth of the end proposed and resolute patience in following the long and difficult upward road that alone could lead to it. It required from teachers and learners alike a conscious conviction of the greatness of the task undertaken, of the momentous nature of the process to be set in operation, a stern determination not to be turned aside by any lesser motive. The first teachers, the first learners, had something of this conviction, and so the measure of success attained almost immediately was great and encouraging. If the success after fifty years is not altogether commensurate, it is in part because we have let the consciousness of the end slip from us, because we have too easily allowed ourselves to be flattered with the belief that we have already sufficiently attained. As the new education became systematized, the original impetus died down, the end lost its living meaning, so that the education instead of an aspiration after any true enlightenment has come to be a lifeless pursuit of degrees and certificates by processes almost wholly mechanical. It would not be difficult to point out, where again and again in the history of the Calcutta University, the true aim has been lost sight of and the University deflected from the right path. It is quite outside the limits of my present purpose to raise disputable questions of detail: but, I think, that on the broad ground here taken, that is, the end and purpose of the whole educational movement, I may, without fear of contradiction from any who have the cause of sound education at heart, set down as such mistakes: the refusal to amend the standard of English for the Entrance Examination in 1877, and again between 1886 and 1888 (when, for a time the standard was actually lowered); the return to set text-books in English for the Entrance Examination in 1878; the abolition in 1879 of the original rule requiring

that candidates for matriculation must be at least sixteen years of age; the progressive heaping up of subjects for the F. A. Examination between 1880 and 1891, and the rejection in 1880 and 1881 and again in 1898—1900 of proposals to lighten this burden by introducing alternative courses.

This is the justification of the movement at the present time for fundamental and thorough reform—first of the Calcutta University, and after that of any other university that may need it. It is an endeavour to call back to the public consciousness the true nature of the educational process to be carried on, to revive the perception of the only means by which the end can be truly realized. We have to go back to the beginning and recall the scope and purpose of the new education; to set clearly before ourselves what it is we are doing, and why we are doing it. We must acknowledge without evasion the only means by which the end can be attained. Those means are sincerity and thoroughness, strong purpose and active intellectual energy. We have too much hitherto been content to seem to attain without attaining. We have now to deal more strictly with ourselves, to refuse to approve anything but real work and sound results. The ultimate end we have in view is enlightenment, the more immediate ends are to produce in the men we are educating independence of judgment and disciplined character. All the educational means we adopt should have these two ends in view. Our intellectual education should be directed to strengthening the judgment; our moral education to strengthening the character. If fidelity to these ends does not quite solve all our perplexities, it will at least supply adequate guidance in many questions now at issue. It can determine our policy in regard to examinations. We must rule out special concessions to a facility for memorizing "book-work;" we must definitely set ourselves to checking the reproduction of text-books learnt by heart. It can guide our system of teaching. We must teach not with a narrow view to passing examinations, but with a view to disciplining the powers of mind, to developing the qualities which make men loyal, moderate, reasonable, self-restrained, self-reliant. It can determine very much else in the regulation of collegiate studies and the ordering

of collegiate life. It is because we have slothfully allowed the great ends, before us to sink out of view, that our system has gone astray; it must be brought back to the true line by keeping the end more closely before our eyes. . . .

There are other circumstances in the origin and aim of the new education which imposed conditions of which we tend unconsciously to lose sight. The ends of the new learning could not be, and probably still cannot be, attained through the use of the mother tongue, or tongues. Consequently the necessity has been imposed upon us of making English the medium of instruction. This was the perplexing fact with which this article began. The fact must be accepted, the unavoidable limitations imposed, by the fact must not be forgotten. But they have not been kept sufficiently in mind, and there is considerable danger that the practical implications of the fact may be too much disregarded in the reforms now beginning.

In this connection it is interesting to note the very exact diagnosis of our difficulty here in the paper recently contributed by the Bishop of Madras to the *Nineteenth Century*. Speaking of the difficulty of following and understanding lectures delivered in English, he goes on to say: "It is true that this difficulty is soon overcome, but the main disadvantage involved in making English the medium of instruction consists not so much in the difficulty experienced in understanding lectures or text-books, as in the difficulty the students have in thinking and expressing themselves in a foreign language. The power of independent thought and judgment, weak to begin with, is crushed under the oppressive weight of a foreign language." There can be no doubt of the greatness of this impediment or of the obstacles it opposes to the successful attainment of our special aim to train and strengthen the powers of judgment. The Bishop of Madras undoubtedly lays his finger on one of the hindrances that chiefly baffle us. But this does not prejudice the rightness of the aim. It only increases the need of effort, and contrivance to pursue it effectually. There is a good deal of truth also in the practical conclusions he draws. "The first step, therefore," he writes, "towards any real improvement in university education is either to reduce the number of students or to separate the best

students from the ruck. The simplest way of effecting this reform would be the establishment of separate Honour courses in each group of subjects. Why the Universities Commission rejected this proposal is difficult to understand." The value of separate Honour courses has been steadily maintained in this Review for many years, and it is gratifying to find so competent an authority as Bishop Whitehead pronouncing emphatically on this side. Along with this I would once more press the necessity of keeping the ordinary B.A. courses relatively simple and restricted instead of increasing the number of subjects as the Commission proposes to do. The reasons are these. "It is impossible, as the Bishop of Madras points out, for the mind in ordinary cases to work with the same freedom and facility in a foreign language as in the mother tongue. At the same time it is, above all, important to keep the mind of the student of the new learning active, to make the new learning a living and not a mechanical process. To make this possible we must be careful not to lay heavy burdens on the learner. Since the courses of study of Indian universities are to be carried on in English, we must recognize that a far less extent of ground can be covered. Courses of study should therefore be less in amount than in countries where the learning is done in the mother tongue, whether the country is England, or Germany, or Japan. This has not been sufficiently recognized, and it is unfortunate that the recommendation made by the Universities Commission would raise the number of subjects taken up for the B.A. degree at Calcutta to four, instead of three as now. Of the two it would be better to decrease the number and insist upon two subjects very thoroughly known. But there is no good reason for altering the number of subjects; three may well be kept, though the extent of ground covered in one or two of these might with advantage be lessened. What is indispensably necessary is that the ground covered should be covered in a real and thorough manner. The same principle needs to be applied throughout; in every subject—other than Oriental languages and, perhaps, mathematics—and at every stage, the task set to the Indian student should be somewhat lighter in amount than that required of students learning in the mother tongue, as a concession to the difficulty of learning in a foreign

language : or rather not as a concession at all, but as a practical recognition of one necessary condition of securing that active exercise of thought which is the educational end.

There is one more point in regard to English of even greater importance. If English must be kept as the instrument of instruction—as I think it must—we must accept the fact fully and frankly together with all the practical consequences that follow from it, and first and foremost the necessity of insisting unflinchingly on a high standard of English at the Entrance or matriculation examination. Whatever may be the case outside the university, it follows from the whole plan of our education, and from a consideration of the means indispensable to the end proposed, that within the university all instruction, learning and examining must be carried on in English. *English is the language of university education*. We must lay this down firmly and adhere to it consistently. It is then seen to be a fundamental and paramount necessity that we must require from all who design to embark on a course of studies in the university a high standard of attainment in English, a far higher standard than we have had hitherto. It is earnestly to be hoped that the new Senate will keep this steadily in mind.

To sum up : it results that there is a well-defined specialty of aim underlying the whole great educational movement of the last hundred years in India and rising into more conscious activity in higher or university education : that this specialty of aim may be expressed by the word regeneration, or re-birth involving as its inner reality a special rousing of the mind, a throwing off an inheritance of intellectual lethargy, and as its instrument the adoption of English as the language of instruction ; and requiring at the same time a strengthening of character through the discipline of collegiate life : that part of the ill success of university education, more especially in Bengal, may be attributed to an imperfect grasp of this special aim or a wavering consistency in holding to it ; and that consequently much is to be hoped from a more conscious acceptance of that aim and a greater constancy in following where it leads. Whether that hope is to be realized depends upon how we proceed now when real educational reform seems a practical

possibility. The immediate hope rests with those responsible for that re-shaping of the Calcutta University which was inaugurated at the first meeting of the new Senate on Saturday, 26th November of last year, that they set this aim plainly before themselves, and wage truceless warfare against the old compromises and slacknesses which are inconsistent with it. But for success a general co-operation is needed on the part of all concerned with higher education and a special responsibility falls on two classes. The great body of educated Indians must face courageously the issues that are involved. They have to choose deliberately between two courses, a forward and a backward, between two attitudes of mind and ways of thought, between the old and the new. The choice was implicitly made when they became students of the new learning. It is a feebleness and a backsliding, even a falsity to light and knowledge, when they compromise and slur over the irreconcilable, or weakly halt between two opinions. They must see to it that they are not as a class found fighting against the very principles of enlightenment and spirituality which they invoke so easily, and on which the whole hope of the future for India does most truly depend. A share of responsibility falls also on each fresh generation of students that enters upon the great realm of liberal studies which English opens to them. Theirs is a great opportunity, a great privilege, and consequently a great responsibility. They should try to realize what it is, and to show themselves worthy of it. Studenthood needs as great a self-dedication in these days, as in the days of the *gurus* and *rishis*. Only the dedication is no longer to a personal teacher or a restricted system of formulas, but to knowledge in its unfettered freedom and to the highest ideals of integrity and excellence that the devout mind has had strength to conceive.

H. R. JAMES.



# CRITICAL NOTICES.

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**INDIA, by Colonel Sir Thomas Hungerford Holdich. (Henry Frowde.)**

WHEN a man of Sir Thomas Holdich's experience and scholarship undertakes, in the maturity of his manhood, to write a volume on the country in which he has spent the best years of his life in investigation and study, we naturally expect much. Sir Thomas has not disappointed us. The book is a mine of wealth for information, a magnificent compilation which is sure to take its place beside the standard works of Hunter, Strachey, Lyall, Griffin, and others. Though the author has consulted almost all standard works and condensed the information they supply, his personal experience in many parts of the continent and the border countries, combined with the results of personal observation have assisted him largely in the compilation of the book.

In the first chapter the author writes on ancient India. Nowhere outside the pages of the present work do we remember having found so succinct and yet so graphic and useful an account of the numerous ways through which—drawn by facts and fables about the opulence of India's princes and the fatal fertility of her flood-stricken shores—tempests of conquest and tidal waves of nations have swept into India. It carries the mind back to the days when Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Macedon and Rome made supreme and successful efforts to secure the command of trade routes to India.

The second and third chapters, those on Baluchistan and Afghanistan, are extremely well written and full of information such as is not found in ordinary books. To the personal experience of the author we owe much; for on reference to the "India List and the India Office List" the reader will find that Sir Thomas joined the Afghan field force in 1879, was in charge of survey operations in Northern Afghanistan during the second period of the campaign, and was attached to the Afghanistan

Boundary Commission, 1884, and was, moreover, in charge of Baluchistan topographical survey in 1883.

Sweeping generalisations and hasty opinions like the one expressed on page 225 that,—"Like the Parsi, the modern Bengali is the result of the English occupation of India. Without that occupation his effeminate, indolent, and cowardly nature would long ago have led to his disappearance" before the stronger races of the north"—are scarce,—and Sir Thomas has himself admitted that it is "dangerous to deal in generalities."

Some of his impartial opinions will bear quotation. We quote with approbation his remarks on native princes (page 253):

"The disadvantages of too liberal an English education are often illustrated by those chiefs and nobles who have so completely adopted the fashions of the Western foreigner that they are no longer in touch with their own people. There are some (and they are amongst the best known of Indian princes) who do not conceal the fact that their social sympathies are with the European rather than with the native. They even occasionally marry with white girls of an inferior class, thereby raising up an extensive field for domestic intrigue, if not for actual crime, amongst those who are interested in the question of succession. They wear European clothes, adopt European habits and manners, and draw a line between themselves and the people they are expected to govern and whose interests should be identical with their own. All this cannot possibly tend to make them better rulers or improve their chances of successful administration."

Slight inaccuracies and slips may be found here and there. On page 249 we read, "Mysore, equally with Rajput and Sikh States, owes its existence to the British Government." During the last century Haidar Ali dispossessed its Hindu Rajas, and it remained under his rule and that of his successor, Tippu Sultan, till Seringapatam was taken in 1799. Then it was restored (like another Hindu State in Southern India—Travancore) to its former Hindu owners, and has remained Hindu ever since." But it has escaped the author that the British held Mysore for some time, and found that it did not pay its way. On page 12 there is a quotation and the author

refers to "Hunter, page 163," but Hunter was nothing if not prolific. On page 156 Pori should be Puri and on page 185 Sauerna Bhumie should be Shuvarna Bhumi.

On page 1 there are a few glaring printing mistakes. "The total population of India," the author says, "amounted to 287 millions of souls by the census of 1891, showing a net increase of  $27\frac{1}{2}$  millions during the preceding decade. In 1901 the total had increased to 231,000,000." It is a curious increase from 287 to 231. On referring to the official tables of the last census (1901) as compiled by Messrs. Risley and Gait we find the population of India as enumerated in that census—294,361,056. The assertion that the net increase during the preceding decade was  $27\frac{1}{2}$  millions is wide of the mark. We give below the population of India as enumerated in the various censuses taken from 1872 to 1901:—

1872	...	206,162,360
1881	...	253,896,330
1891	...	287,314,671
1901	...	294,361,056

The book was written in 1899 and published in 1904. A confusion of the "century" was thus inevitable. And though the author has been careful in putting foot-notes to indicate the time he refers to,—passages have evidently escaped him. Thus, on page 28 the "present century" refers to the nineteenth, and in the remarks about Mysore quoted above, the "last century" must mean the eighteenth. The author himself has not been slow to recognise the disadvantage of publishing the book years after it was written, and on page 280 we read: "It is regretted that since this book was written three or four years of progressive development have already passed. Three or four years in modern India is a period which must necessarily be marked by great and perhaps radical changes. It will, however, stand as a record (however slight) of the condition of things at the close of the nineteenth century, which is perhaps a useful epoch to mark in Indian history."

We only wish Sir Thomas Holdich had resisted the temptation of expressing political opinions in this book, the soundness of some of which may be questioned.

**THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA INCLUDING ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGNS, by Vincent A. Smith (Clarendon Press, Oxford).**

ELPHINSTONE, writing in 1839, observed<sup>d</sup> that in Indian history "no date of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander; and no connected relation of the national transactions can be attempted until after the Muhammadan conquest;" recent researches, however, have proved that Alexander's invasion was only a land-mark in the chequered history of ancient India, for, as the author of the book before us remarks, "when the statement that a connected narrative of events prior to the Muhammadan conquest cannot be prepared is examined in the light of present knowledge, the immense progress in the recovery of the lost history of India made during the last forty years becomes apparent. The researches of a multitude of scholars working in various fields have disclosed an unexpected wealth of materials for the reconstruction of ancient Indian history; and the necessary preliminary studies of a technical kind have been carried so far that the moment seems to have arrived for taking stock of the accumulated stores of knowledge. It now appears to be practicable to exhibit the result of antiquarian studies in the shape of a 'connected relation,' not less intelligible to the ordinary educated reader than Elphinstone's narrative of the transactions of the Muhammadan period."

And the present work is the first attempt to present such a narrative of the leading events in Indian political history.

The researches of many eminent scholars have recovered from the dim recesses of a distant past a connected history of what is popularly called the "Buddhist period," and the fact that it is now possible to write a long narrative of the events of Samudragupta's memorable reign (about 326 A. D.) is perhaps the most conspicuous illustration of the success gained by patient archaeological research in piecing together the fragments, from which alone the chart of the authentic early history of India can be constructed.

The author judiciously arranges the sources of, or original authorities for, the early history of India in four classes. "The first of these is tradition, chiefly as recorded in native literature; the second consists of those writings of foreign travellers and

historians, which contain observations on Indian subjects; the third is the evidence of archaeology, which may be subdivided into the monumental, the epigraphic, and the numismatic; and the fourth comprises the few works of native contemporary literature, which deal expressly with historical subjects."

Sir William Hunter has somewhere expressed the opinion that contemporary records tend to foreshorten the perspective of history. They give a false simplicity of direct cause and effect to transactions which were in reality the results of converging sequences of causes. In untwisting one strand from the cable that binds age to age, we are apt to overestimate the part which the isolated fibre played in the making of the rope. And our author has always been careful to verify and, where necessary, correct contemporary records with the help of evidence derived from other sources.

The author need not have made an apology in the Preface for the "devotion of a disproportionately large space to the memorable invasion of Alexander the Great." He has rescued a mass of information from half forgotten and little known works and we are grateful that this exceptionally interesting subject has after all been adequately treated by a scholar.

We agree with Mr. Smith when he dismisses, as not supported by a single fact Niese's astonishing "paradox" that the whole subsequent development of India was dependent upon Alexander's institutions. And his conclusion will bear quotation: "The campaign, although carefully designed to secure a permanent conquest, was in actual effect no more than a brilliantly successful raid on a gigantic scale, which left upon India no mark save the horrid scars of bloody war. India remained unchanged. The wounds of battle were quickly healed; the ravaged fields smiled again as the patient oxen and no less patient husbandmen resumed their interrupted labours; the places of the slain myriads were filled by the teeming swarms of a population, which knows no limits save those imposed by the cruelty of man, or the still more pitiless operations of nature. India was not hellenized. She continued her life of 'splendid isolation' and soon forgot the passing of the Macedonian storm."

This reminds us of Matthew Arnold's often-quoted lines :—

“The East bowed low before the blast  
In patient, deep disdain ;  
She let the legions thunder past,  
And plunged in thought again.”

From passages we shall afterwards have occasion to quote the reader will have more conclusive proof of the statement made by the author that as a result of Alexander's conquest India was not hellenized, for though the conquest did not pass away as a mere cloud of dust, Alexander came too late for India and the civilization he brought could exert no abiding influence on the ancient civilization of the conquered land.

Much has been said of Greek suzerainty over India after Alexander's death, but the careful student must agree with Mr. Smith and say that the facts that Selenkos retired from India, giving up valuable provinces in exchange for only 500 elephants out of the 9,000 possessed by Chandragupta, that he entered into “a matrimonial alliance” (which phrase probably means that Selenkos gave a daughter to his Indian rival), and sent an ambassador, clearly indicate the real nature of the relations between the sovereigns. “Megasthenes exhibits the greatest respect for the Indian monarch, and never presumed to regard himself as the Resident at the court of a feudatory.”

The author has been able to give us a connected history of the achievements of Chandragupta, whose career is wonderful and implies his possession of exceptional ability. His achievements, remarks the author, “fairly entitle him to rank among the greatest and most successful kings known to history.”

“The administration of the capital city, Pataliputra,” we are told, “was regarded as a matter of the highest importance, and was provided for by the formation of a Municipal Commission, consisting of thirty members, divided, like the War Office Commission of equal numbers, into six Boards or Committees of five members each. These Boards may be regarded as an official development of the ordinary non-official *panchayat* or committee of five members, by which every caste and trade in India has been accustomed to regulate its internal affairs from

time immemorial." The first Board was entrusted with the superintendence of everything relating to the industrial arts. The second Board devoted its energies to the case of foreign residents and visitors. The third Board was responsible for the systematic registration of births and deaths. The important domain of trade and commerce was the province of the fourth Board, which regulated sales, and enforced the use of duly stamped weights and measures. The fifth Board was responsible for the supervision of manufacture. The collection of a tithe of the value of the goods sold was the business of the sixth and last Board. We quote the remarks of the author on the third Board: "Nothing in the legislation of Chandragupta is more astonishing to the observer familiar with the lax methods of ordinary Oriental governments than this registration of births and deaths. The spontaneous adoption of such a measure by an Indian Native State of modern times is unheard of, and it is impossible to imagine an old-fashioned Raja feeling anxious that births and deaths among both high and low might not be concealed." Even the Anglo-Indian administration with its complex organization and European notions of the value of statistical information, did not attempt the collection of vital statistics until very recent times, and has always experienced great difficulty in securing reasonable accuracy in the figures."

A review of Chandragupta's civil and military system of government will at once convince the student that "Northern India in the time of Alexander the Great had attained to a high degree of civilisation, which must have been the product of evolution continued through many centuries." And in this civilisation the much talked of Hellenic influence was nowhere to be seen.

Asoka was a great builder. And when Fa-hien visited India his palace was still standing.

It was so cunningly constructed of stone that the work appeared to be beyond the skill of mortal hands, and was deemed to have been wrought by supernatural agency. Of Asoka's pillars the author says: "The massive monolithic sand-stone pillars, inscribed and uninscribed, which Asoka erected in large numbers throughout the home provinces of

the empire, some of which are fifty feet in height, and about fifty tons in weight, are not only worthy monuments of his magnificence, but also of the highest interest as the earliest known examples of the Indian stone-cutter's art in architectural form. The style is Persian rather than Greek, and the mechanical execution is perfect."

General Cunningham said (*vide* Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. III) that building with stone was not unknown to the Indians at the time of Alexander's invasion and he promised to show that some of the stone buildings built before that invasion "are standing at the present day." He has not, however, redeemed his promise, and in the absence of any positive proof to the contrary we must say that "no trace of stone architecture prior to the age of Asoka has been detected." And we must patiently await the discovery of some ruin which will proclaim by its mute eloquence that in architecture the Indians took no hint as to material from the Greeks.

"The Indian administration and society," says Mr. Smith, "so well described by Megasthenes, the ambassador of Selonkos were Hindu in character, with some features borrowed from Persia, but none from Greece. The assertion that the development of India depended on the institutions of Alexander is a grotesque travesty of truth."

While admitting that in the cases of relief sculpture and the drama Indians borrowed ideas from Europeans, the author holds that "there is no evidence that Greek architecture was ever introduced into India. A temple with Ionic pillars dating from the time of Azes (either Azes I, 50 B. C., or Azes II, some fifty years later), has been discovered at Taxila; but the plan of the building is not Greek, and the pillars of foreign pattern are merely borrowed ornaments. The earliest known example of Indo-Greek sculpture belongs to the same period, the reign of Azes, and not a single specimen can be referred to the times of Demetrios, Eukratides, and Menander, not to speak of Alexander. The well-known sculptures of Gandhara, the region round Peshawar, are much later in date, and are the offspring of cosmopolitan Græco-Roman art."

"The prolonged occupation of the Punjab and neighbouring regions by Greek rulers," he adds, "had extremely little



effect in hellenizing the country. Greek political institutions and architecture were rejected, although to a small extent Hellenic example was accepted in the decorative arts, and the Greek language must have been familiar to the officials at the Kings' Courts."

At the present moment readers will be interested to know that in the third century B. C., Asoka had been content to address his commands to his people in language easy to be understood by the vulgar, and in the first century A. D. the learned dialect elaborated by scholars, in which the works of Kalidasa and other poets were composed, had not come into general use as the language of polite literature; and even the most courtly authors did not disdain to seek royal patronage for compositions in the vernacular dialects. The name of Hala, the seventeenth King of the Andhra dynasty (69 A. D.), by virtue of its association with literary tradition, possesses special interest as marking a stage in the development of Indian literature.

He bestowed his favour on vernacular literature. He himself is credited with the composition of the anthology of erotic verses, called the "Seven Centuries," written in the ancient Maharashtrian tongue. "A collection of tales, entitled the 'Great Story Book' written in the Paisachi dialect, and a Sanskrit grammar," arranged with special reference to the needs of students more familiar with the vernacular speech than with the so-called 'classical' language, are attributed to his ministers." It was only in the middle of the second century A. D., that the Western satrap Rudradaman felt that his achievements could be adequately commemorated only in elaborate Sanskrit.

The fourteenth, the fifteenth, and the sixteenth chapters of the book are necessarily short, but they are, like the rest of the book, full of information. The author has accepted the popular opinion that Rai Lakhmaniya feebly yielded to the mountaineers of Central Asia, fled to the shrine of Jagannath in Orissa and died there. Unfortunately he has not made even a passing reference to the opinion held by some that he did not do anything of the kind but retired to Eastern Bengal and went on ruling there.

In the present work the author has condensed the results of the researches of scholars during the last hundred years. And the reader—like a worker in a diamond field, has to be very careful, for the author has often devoted only a single line to correct popular errors which have led many writers astray.

We are sorry to miss references to Mr. Griffiths's book *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta* and Rajendra Lal's *Researches on the Pala and the Tenadynasties of Bengal* (J. A. S. B.) the supposed identity of the Greeks with the Yavanas of the Sanskrit writers (J. A. S. B.) and the Ajanta cave frescoes (J. A. S. B.) We regret, too, the absence of a separate chapter on Indian Art.

The book before us is a monument of laborious research, a mine of information which makes the reader exclaim—  
"The author has given 'infinite riches in a little room'."

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GOD AND OUR SOLDIERS, by Paul B. Bull, M.A. Methuen and Co., London.

MR. BULL, who is now a Priest of the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield, served as Chaplain with General French's Cavalry during a part of the late South African war, and this book is the outcome of his experiences. Lord Roberts, Sir Redvers Buller, and Sir John French all write commendatory words concerning the purpose of these sketches, and the author records his "deep debt of gratitude to the late Chaplain-General, Dr. Edghill, who did a noble work for the spiritual welfare of the army, and whose burning love for God and our soldiers first inspired me to try and serve them."

We should like to quote here some of the words of the distinguished Generals, mentioned above, which testify of the good behaviour of our soldiers in an arduous campaign. Lord Roberts says: "Not one single instance of serious crime against the people with whom we were fighting was brought to my notice during the campaign. Indeed, throughout the war, the conduct of the men was so exemplary as to make one feel proud of being their commander." "I don't believe that an army ever behaved better than did the troops under my command," states Sir Redvers Buller: "I heard of not one

case of serious crime, and over and over again heard their behaviour praised by the inhabitants. I am satisfied that no troops ever behaved better under great provocation than did ours in South Africa." Sir John French writes: "I quite agree with all you say as regards the behaviour and conduct of the troops, with whom we served together . . . . I am altogether with you when you say that their good behaviour and the chivalrous feeling they displayed towards their enemies is quite unparalleled in the annals of warfare."

This interesting book stands alone in its treatment of the war in South Africa, for it is not a mere record of marches and battles and hardships, but a noble, manly book, whose one ambition is to claim for the army that respect which is due to it, and to show to others what God has shown to the writer, the strong virtues which burn so brightly in our soldiers' lives.

After twenty years' work among soldiers, the writer of this notice cordially echoes Mr. Bull's words when he says that "A soldier's life is much misunderstood. Civilians see him at his worst, in the relaxation of his furlough, when he is free from the restraint of discipline and public opinion, when, in a natural reaction from the severity of army life, he often misuses his liberty. All know a soldier's vices, but few know his virtues: and many will be glad to share with me the revelation of goodness which God showed me in my few years of work in the army."

This book should be in every civilian's library, for it will teach him much which he should very often know.

There are many passages in these sketches which put things in quite a new light and one we venture to quote. The writer says, speaking of war "I want to insist on this point that merchants make war, soldiers make peace. When pride and covetousness have exhausted nations in that awful silent conflict of passion, which is always going on beneath the surface of our commercial life, then soldiers step in and make peace, often by the surrender of their lives . . . . The Temple of Peace is everywhere reared over our soldiers' graves."

*God and our Soldiers* is an inspiring book—worthy of the theme,—the much misrepresented British soldier and of the writer, a some time soldiers' Chaplain. Although this book is one of Methuen's Colonial series its existence is unknown

in a large city like Calcutta, and a copy could not be procured in that city!

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**THE PSALMS IN HUMAN LIFE**, by Rowland E. Prothero M.V.O. London. John Murray.

THE book is the outcome of Notes commenced as far back as the year 1878. The ground covered by this fascinating volume has already been partly occupied by the Rev John Ker's book, *The Psalms in History and Biography* and by a smaller book by the Rev. Charles L. Marson, called *The Psalms at Work*. Mr. Prothero mentions these two works in his Preface, but omits altogether a much larger and fuller one which covers nearly the whole ground of *The Psalms in Human Life*, viz., *Psalm Mosaics, an Historical and Biographical Commentary on the Psalms* by the present Editor of the *Calcutta Review* and published in 1894.

Tholuck has said "What a record that would be, if one could write down all the spiritual experiences, the disclosures of the heart, the comforts and conflicts, which men in the course of ages have connected with the words of the Psalms! What a history, if we could discover the place this book has occupied in the inner life of the heroes of the kingdom of God!" This work is an answer to that question, for it fully bears out what Dean Stanley says "The Psalter, by its manifold application and uses in after times, is a vast palimpsest, written over and over again, illuminated, illustrated by every conceivable incident and emotion of men and nations; battles, wanderings, dangers, escapes, death-beds, obsequies of many ages and countries, rise or may rise to our view as we read it." We desire to join in the chorus of approval which *The Psalms in Human Life* has met with on all hands,—for it is singularly attractive and inspiring.

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**NOTES ON THE PSALTER**, by the Rev. Charles Evans, M.A., Honorary Canon of Worcester Cathedral. London. John Murray.

THESE notes on the Psalter consist mainly of extracts from the Septuagint and Psalterium Gallicanum or Vulgate, of such parallel passages as differ materially from our Prayer Book version, or appear to contain words of especial interest.

To these extracts are added occasional quotations from the Hexapla of Origen, from the Psalterium Romanum, and from the Psalterium juxta Hebræos, St Jerome's direct translation from the Hebrew. The writer of this volume has published these notes in the earnest hope, of encouraging some youthful students to a careful study of the Psalter and its early versions. A few years ago an aged friend told the author that in his youth he committed to memory many thousand lines from Homer, Virgil, Horace, and other great classical authors, the recollection of which he still highly treasured, his only regret being that he had not been compelled, at the same time, to learn by heart large portions of the Psalms.

**ATOMS OF EMPIRE, by Cutcliffe Hyne. Macmillan & Co.**

THIS book is a collection of short stories, dealing, as the title suggests, with incidents the scene of which is laid in different places. They are, perhaps, on the whole a little disappointing. We detect a tendency in the author to repeat himself, and the plot of two of the stories is practically identical. Mr. Hyne is at his best, however, in dealing with the life of such as go down to the sea in ships, and *The Cholera Ship* is a fine story. There is considerable humour displayed in *The Mummy of Thompson Pratt*. But we cannot believe that the publication of these stories will add to Mr. Hyne's well-merited reputation.

**THE FOOD OF THE GODS, by H. C. Wells. Macmillan & Co.**

THIS book is written with all the versatile ingenuity which is so conspicuous a mark of all this well-known author's work. In realising the incredible, and awakening our sympathy for the abnormal, Mr. Wells is a past master. And very subtle is the irony with which in the course of his story he contrives to criticise the existing order of things. There is, perhaps, less humour and more pathos about this tale of the giant brood than the casual reader will grasp on a first perusal of the book. But it is all the more worth careful study for that very reason. And in the delineation of character alone Mr. Wells, from time to time, gives evidence of a very special skill. To all who are

prepared to make the effort necessary for its entire comprehension this sketch of a possible development will give much matter for intellectual speculation, while the ordinary novel reader will be satisfied with the weirdness of its complications, and the sweep of the author's imagination.

**RECORDS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Vol. XXXI,  
Parts 2, 3 and 4.**

THE parts before us contain some very interesting articles. Mr. Holland writes a short ope on the late Lieutenant-General C. A. McMahon. The concluding lines bear quotation: "Only those who had the privilege of his friendship knew the full extent of the genial, courteous and generous nature which accompanied his ability and originality of character. Those who have had any experience of the controversies which naturally arise over scientific problems will understand the underlying character and methods of one of whom it can be said, with almost literal accuracy, that he found many antagonists but did not make a single enemy."

Mr. P. N. Bose's paper—"Notes on the Geology and Mineral Resources of Mayurbhunj"—is ably written. Among the important minerals Mr. Bose mentions iron manganese, gold, mica, limestone, asbestos, opal, copper pyrites, pottery clay, agate, flint and jasper. We hope other native princes will follow the example of His Highness the Maharaja of Mayurbhunj and try to find out the mineral resources of their States with a view to develop them.

In these days when science is being saddled to the service of men to extract gold from sea water, Mr. Maclaren's "Auriferous Occurrences of Chota Nagpur, Bengal," and "Auriferous Occurrences of Assam" will, we doubt not, be eagerly read by those who would undergo all privations and sacrifice much to get what Milton calls a "precious bane."

But the most interesting paper, in our opinion, is Mr. Ward's article "On the feasibility of introducing modern methods of coke-making at the East Indian Railway collieries." His conclusions are—

(1) That if the Kurhurbaree coal contains a sufficient quantity of nitrogen, and if a reasonably priced supply of

sulphuric acid is available in Calcutta it will certainly pay to put down bye-product plant to recover tar and ammonia.

(2) That if the nitrogen prove deficient or the supply of sulphuric acid high priced or deficient in quantity, "non-recovery" plant with utilisation of waste gases should be adopted.

(3) That in either case the improvement in the quality of the coke which results will justify the adoption of compressing plant.

We ourselves are of opinion, that the introduction of modern methods of coke-making is not only possible, but is likely to become profitable. And we are glad to learn that steps are already being taken to manufacture coke in the Bengal coal-fields, by modern methods, to supply the blast furnaces. This means that the valuable tar and ammonium sulphate portion of the coal will be made available instead of being lost as it is in the wasteful Indian method hitherto in use. The paying nature of the coke industry has already been demonstrated by an expert who has been engaged in investigating its possibilities in Bengal for some time past. The sulphuric acid factory which it brings in its train means the profitable working of the large deposits of sulphurous copper ore which has long been known to exist in the Chota Nagpur District. Mr. Holland, Director of the Geological Survey, was recently deputed by the Government of India to go into this matter, and it is understood that plant is already being got out from Home to prove the ore concerned. Ammonium sulphate, one of the bye-products of coke manufacture, is at present imported in large quantities by Java sugar-growers for manurial purposes. Its production at low rates in this country will no doubt help the corresponding industry here. For coal-tar there will be an unlimited demand as soon as it is placed upon the Indian market at the price at which it can be profitably manufactured locally, instead, as at present, at that which it costs to import from Europe.

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**MEMOIRS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Vol. XXXII, Part 4.**

It contains a very elaborate paper on the Jammu Coal-fields by Mr. Simpson, with a map of the 'Coal-fields, a survey plan of the prospects in jungle gully, Ladda Coal-field' and

some very finely executed plates. The Geological Survey Department has throughout been the pioneer in the matter of bringing to notice the mineral resources of the country. And we are glad to notice that the number before us fully sustains the best traditions of the Department.

### MEMOIRS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Vol. XXXV, Part 3.

THE Seismic Phenomena in British India, and their connection with its Geology, by Count F. de Montessus de Ballore. It is a most interesting paper in which the writer shows how the unstable regions of the immense continent of British India are situated with relation to the ancient and recent geological changes, which have given to these territories their actual features; and how the survival of these forces is proved by earthquakes.

"In its main features," the writer says, "the area to be studied may be described, from a merely geographical point of view, as follows:—A huge folded chain, the Himalayas, has arisen at a comparatively recent epoch, the tertiary, and bounds the northern margin of the alluvial plains of three great rivers, the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmaputra, which have their sources on the Central Asian plateau. At both extremities this principal chain is flanked by important mountain ranges running southwards; these are the hills of Afghanistan and Baluchistan to the west, with secondary and tertiary formations; and the Arakan, Burma, Andaman, and Nicobar Islands, and the Malay Peninsula ranges to the east with archæan to tertiary formations. The alluvial plain forms the northern boundary of the triangular peninsula of India, the remains of an ancient continent to the south, which terminates in Ceylon and lies between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal." Corresponding to the geographical arrangement twelve divisions or chapters have been made, *viz.*: (1) Afghanistan and Northern Baluchistan, (2) North-Western Himalayas (Kashmir, Kumaon, Nepal), (3) Punjab, (4) Upper India, (5) Western India, (6) Peninsula, (7) Ceylon, (8) Eastern Himalayas, Assam, and Lower Bengal, (9) Arakan and Burma, (10) Malay Peninsula, (11) Bay of Bengal, (12) Indian Ocean. The writer's accounts are simple but always full.



**MEMOIRS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, Vol. XXXVI, Part I.**

THE Geology of Spiti, with parts of Bashahr and Rupshu by Mr. Hayden, one of the Deputy Superintendents of the Department. Spiti lies between Kumaon and Garhwal Himalayas on the east and Kashmir with Ladakh on the west. One of the most remarkable features of the past is the Geological Map by Mr. Hayden and the late A. von Krafft. Besides the Introduction the paper consists of the following chapters: (1) Previous accounts of the geology of Spiti, (2) Cambrian system, (3) Silurian system, (4) Devonian, Carboniferous, and Permian, (5) Mesogian group, (6) Rupshu, (7) Igneous rocks, (8) Economic geology, (9) Correlation with the Simla series.

**PLAGUE: ITS PREVENTION AND CURE, by Kaviraj Durga Das Gupta.**

IN this book the writer reprints a series of lectures delivered before a Calcutta literary society. "The work," the author says, "comprises my own experience in plague cases." And he recommends the course of treatment herein described, with the honest conviction that it will be found successful." He quotes a few symptoms of Sannipata from the *Ayurveda* "which," he says, "being compared with those of plague, will convince the reader that the two diseases are identical." We hope the book will be properly discussed by medical men, who would find out if this course of treatment will stand the scrutiny of science.

**A HANDBOOK OF HINDU PANTHEISM, by Yogesa Chandra Sastree.**

THIS is a translation of the Atmayanarenopadesavidhi of Sankaracharya with Anandagiri's commentary. This little book of 60 pages is an honest attempt on the part of a Sanskrit scholar to render into English the "hitherto untranslated tracts of the *Vedanta* by Sankaracharya." The translation is faithful and the translator has been successful in maintaining the true spirit of the original work. This is what cannot be said of all books of this kind. And we are glad the translator has not increased the bulk of the book by quotations, and unnecessarily long explanations to air his scholarship.

## • VERNACULAR LITERATURE. •

*Murshidâbâder Itihâsa, Prathamâ Khandâ* (A History of Murshidâbâd, Vol. I) by Nikhil Nâth Roy. A new era it seems has dawned for historical research in Bengal. A generation has passed away since the publication of Bankim Chandra's lament over the fact that though in this matter he had proceeded with pickaxe and spade no army was within sight. In quick succession have been published the works of Pandit Satya Charan Sâstree, Bâbu Akshoy Kumâr Maïtra, Bâbu Nikhil Nâth Roy and Bâbu Kâli Prasanna Banerjee. The credit of the pioneer has been given to and quickly appropriated by Bâbu Akshoy Kumâr—for it was in his work that the spirit of renaissance first expressed itself prominently. His *Shirâjaddantâ* has been widely read and widely discussed. "Everything new," said Kingsley, "is impious, till we get accustomed to it." And because the attribution of the attributes of the Devil to the English in Bengal by Bengalee historians was new when *Shirâjaddantâ* was first published the book was denounced by those who understand and appreciate the manifold advantages of British Rule in India, and extolled by short-sighted enthusiasts who are ignorant of the true meaning of patriotism. It may not be out of place to say that the apotheosis of this dullard, drunkard, debauch and tyrant is not approved of by impartial students of history. Truth has triumphed, and other Bengalee writers have not been slow to say so.

While Bâbu Akshoy Kumâr's book was frothy and sentimental, Bâbu Nikhil Nâth's book is to the point. And though his style lacks the flowing grace which has contributed so much to the success of Bâbu Akshoy Kumâr's book—he has always tried to stick to facts. He has nowhere substituted poetry for philosophy and sentiment for truth.

• But why does he name the book A History of Murshidâbâd? It is the history of Bengal—when Murshidâbâd was its capital—that he has written. And he must not blame the

reader if he fights shy of the book because of its title—thinking that life is too short to enable us to read the history of a district or a town—for Murshidâbâd may mean both—however interesting, in more than one volume, the first volume of which extends over 650 pages—interspersed with some interesting illustrations.

*Murshidâbâd-Kâhinee* (Tales of Murshidâbâd) by Nikhil Nâth Roy. This volume will, perhaps, reach a wider audience than the author's more learned work—*Murshidâbâder Itihâsa*. It contains some two dozen sketches of men who played a prominent part in the politics of the Muhammedan capital of Bengal, and of places where battles were fought or heroes interred. Bâbu Nikhil Nâth is a careful student of history. But the evidence of his scholarship adduced in these sketches is not of a crushing character. He writes in a light vein, and here and there poetry illumines his descriptions, throwing the sombre facts into bold relief. In these sketches we find dry bones of history made interesting.

*Moghul-Vamsa* (The Moghul Dynasty) by Râm Prân Gupta. We all knew that Bâbu Râm Prân had been writing this book. For chapters of the book were published in Bengalee magazines announcing the advent in our midst of a laborious and careful student of Indian history. Bâbu Râm Prân has written the history of India during the Moghul period, and his labour has been richly rewarded because the accounts of the period are far from scarce. The main work is divided into the following chapters—(1) Chengiz Khan and his descendants, (2) Timur, (3) Babar, (4) Humayun and Sher Sah, (5) Akbar, (6) Jahangir, (7) Sah Jehan, (8) Aurangzeb, (9) The Fall of the Moghuls, (10) the Moghul Empire. To these the author adds short notices on—(1) Abul Fazl, (2) Nizamuddin, (3) Badauni, (4) Feristha, (5) Kafi Khan, (6) Gulam Hosain.

The author's account of Akbar closes with the following quotation from Malleeson:—"We are bound to recognise in Akbar one of those illustrious men whom Providence sends in the hour of a nation's troubles to re-conduct it into those paths of peace and toleration which alone can assure the happiness of millions." We do not share the author's high estimation of Akbar, and cannot pass over the fact that in all

Akbar's acts selfishness was the predominant motive, and hypocrisy often his tool. Tennyson's "Akbar's Dream" was written by a great poet but a superficial student of Indian history.

In the list of books consulted we miss the names of Manoudi's *Account of the Moghuls*, Thomas' *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire* and the *Trial of Bahadur Sah*, (Selections from the Records of the Government of the Punjab and its dependencies. New Series, No. VII, 1870). And we have full sympathy with the author when he says that being away from the metropolis he has often found it impossible to get the books he wanted. Even in the metropolis it is not possible to get all of them easily. And it is on such occasions that people understand and appreciate the advantages of an institution like the Imperial Library which—thanks to the endeavours of the Librarian—is fast becoming a centre of literary activity in Bengal.

Bābū Rām Prān lacks imagination, but not laboriousness. He is always direct and to the point, and compresses much information within small space. He weighs evidence very carefully, and is always interesting. On the whole the book is a very successful production. We only wish the account of the later Moghuls who—as Hunter says, were "Mughal pensioners and puppets" reigning at Delhi "over a numerous seraglio"—had been a little more elaborate.

*Ushā* (The Dawn,—by Priya Nāth Banerjee. This is a volume of lyrics. The young aspirant has a fine ear for music, and like Bābū Ramani Mohan Ghose—to whom the book is dedicated—he handles with success some of the charming but difficult metres used by Bābū Rabindra Nāth Tagore, who is a master. It is seldom, nowadays, that we find a volume of poetry "burning as lava, wild as a storm-wind, come floating out on the top of the seething soup of current literature." But a volume of poetry to retain a hold on successive generations of readers must have some originality about it. "A great writer," says Taine speaking of Pope, "is a man who, having passions, knows his dictionary and grammar; Pope thoroughly knew his dictionary and his grammar, but stopped there." We demand ideas, not arrangement of ideas. Many of our young poets have yet to learn that facility of hand does not suffice to

make a poet, even a "poet of the boudoir." Bābu Priya Nāth has yet to learn this. And, in many of his lyrics "the form—the form alone is eloquent." There are some well executed illustrations in the book. This is a new and charming feature in Bengalee books.

*Jignāsā* (Askings)—by Rāmendra Sundar Srivedi. When one contemplates the mass of worthless rubbish that is constantly being poured out by the Bengalee press one's first feeling at coming across a book like the one we are noticing is that of a man who finds a pearl in a dunghill. It is seldom that the critic gets such a book of real worth. It is worthy of the author. Bābu Rāmendra is a learned man, a Roy Chand Prem Chand Scholar, the principal of a college, a Fellow of the Calcutta University and the Secretary of the Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad—the journal of which institution he edited with considerable ability for more than two years.

It is impossible—in a few lines—to give the reader any idea of the articles contained in the book. The stamp of erudition is everywhere so evident—a thorough knowledge of the subjects dealt with so palpable—the power of expression so wonderful! Nearly every year there comes out a book which stands out a head and shoulders above its companions—one work which promises to make the year memorable. This year a promise of lasting vitality is distinctly made by Bābu Rāmendra Sundar's book. Newton is reported to have said that like a child he had only been collecting pebbles on the shore of the ocean of learning, and this twentieth century disciple of his, calls his book—"Askings," though he answers all the questions he asks.

*Buddha-Deva* (The Life and Teachings of Buddha)—by Satis Chandra Vidyābhusana. The publishers, Messrs. G. C. Basu and Company, are well-known for experiments in the department of enriching Bengalee literature with high-class works by eminent writers. The present work is the first volume of a series they contemplate publishing, and it is a worthy beginning.

The life and work of Gautama the Buddha, as well as the sacred works of Buddhism, have been made known to the Western world by the indefatigable zeal and industry of

scholars like Bournouf, Hodgson, Bigandet, Bühler, Foucaux, Lenart, Weber, Fansboll, Alexander Csoma, Wassiljeff, Rhys Davids, Max Müller, Childers, Oldenberg, Schiefner, Eitel, Beal, Spence Hardy and Paul Carus, and the voluminous literature that has grown on the subject will be evident from *Buddha and His Doctrines—A Bibliographical Essay* by Herr Kistner, of Leipzig.

In Bengal the credit of writing a popular book on the Buddha belongs to Bâbu Krishna Kumâr Mittra. And we are glad to find that Pandit Satis Chandra has written a book on the great religious teacher. The Pandit is a Pâli scholar, and as such possesses special opportunities of writing on the subject. But he labours under a great disadvantage—the disadvantage a scholar naturally feels when he has accumulated materials for three volumes and wants to condense them into one. The writer tells us in the Preface that he has in contemplation two more volumes—one on Buddhist literature and philosophy and another on the spread of Buddhism. And we are sure when he has finished them he will find it necessary to remodel the present work.

The Eastern mind makes the apotheosis of a religious teacher easy, and Eastern imagination makes the withered sticks of history and biography blossom into entertaining romance. Consequently after the lapse of a few centuries it becomes difficult to find out the grain of truth lost in the froth and false glitter of oriental hyperbole. The writer has, in some cases, vacillated between two opinions, and, in some, found it impossible to accept one out of many current traditions. But this was perhaps unavoidable. And, with all its faults, the book is a remarkable addition to Bengalee literature.

*Naiti Prabandha* (Nine Essays)—by Siddha Mohan Mittra—Bâbu Siddha Mohan needs no introduction to the readers of the *Review*. To the January issue he contributed—"An Alien Yoke or—A Divine Dispensation?"—which must be of interest to all politically inclined Indians. Most of these short papers throw light on customs and conceptions of the Muhammedans. Bâbu Siddha Mohan is never dull, and often informing.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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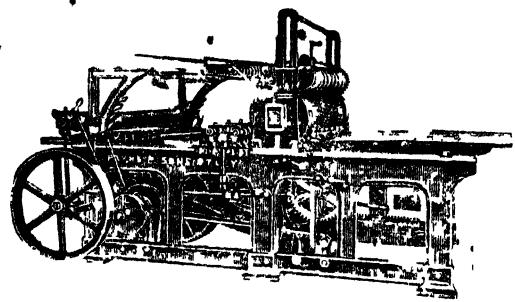
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